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BY

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VOLUME V

BOOK VI. THE LOMBARD INVASION

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

SECOND EDITION



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PREFACE

TO THE FIFTH AND SIXTH VOLUMES

I NOW offer to my readers the history of nearly two centuries, extending from the expulsion of the Goths from Italy to the death of the Lombard King Liutprand.

The period thus traversed is one for which our information is meagre and fragmentary, nor have we for any part of it such a lucid and copious narrative as was furnished for some portions of the earlier volumes by the histories of Ammianus and Procopius. The evident honesty of the national historian of the Lombards, Paulus Diaconus, and his willingness to share with us the picturesque *Sagas* of his people, endear him to our hearts: but we are forced to see that he leaves many gaps in his history. These gaps have to be filled up, as best they may, by extracts from other even more meagre chronicles

or fragments of Papal letters, and this process, which is laborious for the writer of a history, is even more tedious for his readers.

I ought further to warn 'the general reader' (whom as well as the trained historical student I always desire to find among my audience) that there are four chapters in the later of these two volumes, which I cannot expect him to endure with patience. They are the fifth, tenth and fourteenth, dealing with the Lombard Laws, and the thirteenth which describes the official machinery of the Exarchate of Ravenna. Perhaps also, if he have not a keen appetite for theological controversy, he will do well to leave unread the last chapter of the fifth volume which describes the Istrian schism, important as that schism was in its bearing on the early history of Venice.

I anticipate that most of my readers will be surprised at the amount of space given in these volumes to the history of the Franks and to Papal affairs. I consider however that I can justify these demands on their attention by the fact that the chief actors in the next scene will be the Frankish King and the Roman Pontiff, whose co-operation brought about the fall of the Lombard kingdom and changed the face of Italy. I hope at no very distant date to produce my concluding volume, describing that great revolution and bringing down the history to its appointed

term, the coronation of Charles the Great as Emperor of Rome.

As with the previous volumes, I am indebted to the kind assistance of Mr. H. A. Grueber, of the British Museum, for the preparation of my plate of coins. He has on this occasion added to the obligation thus conferred upon me, by the preparation of a valuable note on the Lombard coinage.

Without the formality of a dedication I have pleasure in connecting these two volumes with the names of two eminent Italian historians, whose advice has helped and whose friendly interest has greatly cheered me during their preparation. They are Professor Villari of Florence and Count Ugo Balzani of Rome.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

BAMBURGH KEEP,
NORTHUMBERLAND,
January 26, 1895.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

To this new edition of Volumes V and VI there have been added certain notes and corrections which my father had intended to insert in a second edition if the latter were ever required. These small changes, prepared many years ago, make no pretence of bringing the book completely up to date; but their inclusion can be defended as presenting the book to the public with the last touches of the author. If my father had lived, it is probable that he would have undertaken a more thorough revision, but it has not seemed advisable that this should at present be attempted by another hand. Moreover, English students of the Lombard period can now turn to the Cambridge Mediaeval History for the latest theories, and there, too, they can find ampler and more recent bibliographies.

The few notes that appear for the first time in this edition are distinguished by being placed within square brackets. They are, for the most part, derived from two sources: first, from the publications

of other historians who have devoted themselves to the study of Italy under the Lombards, especially from the review of these two volumes by Signor Crivellucci in *Studi storici*, and from Hartmann's *Geschichte Italiens*; and secondly, from the comments and criticisms sent to my father in private correspondence by his friends. Amongst the latter may be mentioned Viscount Bryce, the late Professors York Powell and W. Bright, and the Rev. H. K. Mann. At the suggestion of the late Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates my father had made various changes in the text of the chapter on St. Columbanus. Some philological notes I owe to the kindness of Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

R. H. HODGKIN.

CAMBOIS,
BLYTH,
January 18, 1916.

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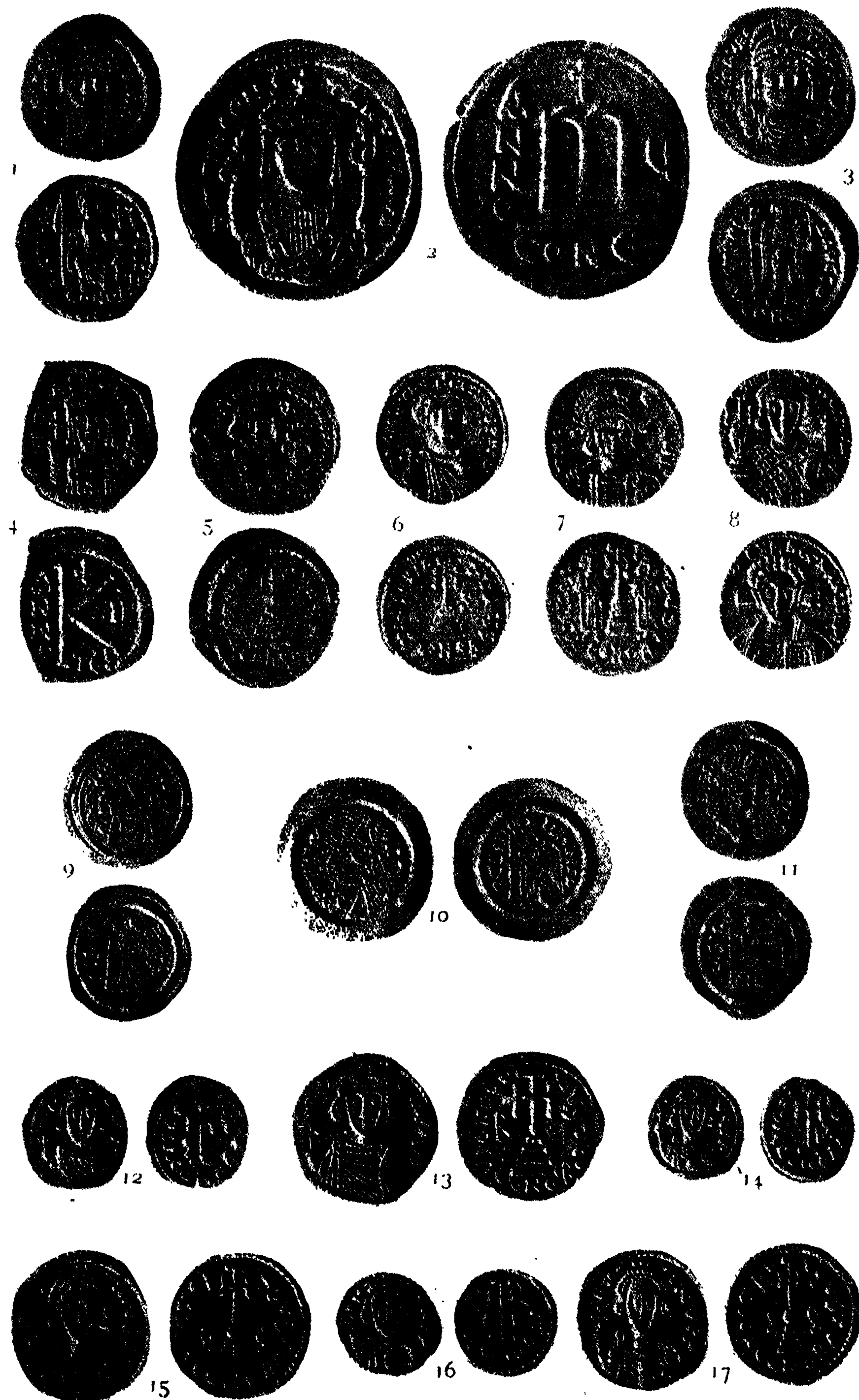
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DESCRIPTION OF COINS ON PLATE

THIS plate gives illustrations of the coins of the Byzantine Emperors during the sixth and seventh centuries; and of those of the Lombard Kings and the Dukes of Beneventum during the seventh and eighth centuries. At first the Lombards and the Dukes of Beneventum used for their currency the coins of the Byzantine Emperors, or they made such imitations of them as are scarcely to be distinguished from the original coins. It was not until the Lombard kingdom had attained its summit of importance that their kings established a special coinage; the first king to strike money bearing his own name being Cunincpert. These coins are original in style and type, bearing scarcely, if any, resemblance to those of the Merovingian rulers on the one side or to the coins of the Empire on the other. They are of unusually low relief, and for the most part considerably lighter in weight. Not so was it with the coins of the Dukes of Beneventum. These follow closely the contemporary current imperial type, even to retaining on the obverse the name of the Emperor himself, Justinian II, &c. As a distinguishing mark, however, the Dukes of Beneventum placed on the reverse either their initials or their monograms. Compared with the actual Byzantine money, these coins are of higher relief and of full standard of weight, and they show the close relationship which existed between Southern Italy and Byzantium.

H. A. GRUEBER.

BYZANTINE EMPERORS.

1. Justin II, A. D. 565–578. Solidus. *Obv.* DM. IVSTINVS P.P. AVG. Bust of Emperor facing, in armour, holding globe surmounted by Victory in right hand. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG. I. Victory seated, holding spear and orb; below, CONOB (Constantinople). *Gold.*

2. Tiberius II, A.D. 578–582. Follis. *Obv.* DM. TIb CONSTANT. P.P. AVG. Bust of Emperor facing, in armour, holding volumen and sceptre surmounted by eagle. *Rev.* The numeral m (= 40 nummia) surmounted by cross; on left ANNO; on right ч (= v), and below, CON. E. *Copper.*

3. Mauricius Tiberius, A.D. 582–602. Solidus. *Obv.* D.N. mAVR. TIb. P.P. AVG. Bust of Emperor facing, in armour, holding orb. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGG. Θ. Victory facing, holding cross surmounted by monogram of Christ and orb; below, CONOB. *Gold.*

4. Focas, A.D. 602–610. Half-Follis. *Obv.* D.N. FOCAS PERP. AVG. Bust of Emperor facing, in armour, orb in right hand. *Rev.* The numeral K (= 20 nummia) above cross; on left, ANNO; on right, II; below, TES (Thessalonica). *Copper.*

5. Heraclius and his son Heraclius Constantine, A.D. 613–641 (accession of Heraclius 610: association of his son 613). Solidus. *Obv.* DO.NN. hERACLIVS ET hERA. CONST. P.P. AV. Busts facing, crowned, of the two Emperors; above, cross. *Rev.* VICTORIA AчGч.H. Cross on steps; below, CONOB. *Gold.*

6. Constans II, A.D. 641–668. Solidus. *Obv.* D.N. CONSTANTINVS P.P. AV. Bust of Emperor facing, diademed; in right hand orb. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGVS. Cross on steps; near which S.; below, CONOB. *Gold.*

7. Constantine IV, Heraclius and Tiberius, A.D. 668–669. Solidus. *Obv.* DN. CON . . . TNVS P. Bust facing of Constantine, in armour and helmet, holding spear over right shoulder. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVG. Heraclius and Tiberius standing on either side of cross; below, CONOB. *Gold.*

8. Justinian II, A.D. 685–695 and 705–711. Solidus. *Obv.* DN. IVSTINIANVS MVLTVS AV. Bust of Emperor facing, diademed; holding cross in right hand and orb inscribed PAX. *Rev.* DN. Ihs. chs. REX REGNANTIVm. Bust of Christ facing; right hand in benediction, left holding book of the gospels. *Gold.*

LOMBARD KINGS.

9. Flavius Cunincpert, A.D. 688–700. Solidus. *Obv.* D.N. CVNINC-PERT. Bust of king to right, draped and diademed; in front, H. *Rev.* SCS MIHIHL. St. Michael standing to left, holding cross pommée and shield. *Gold.*

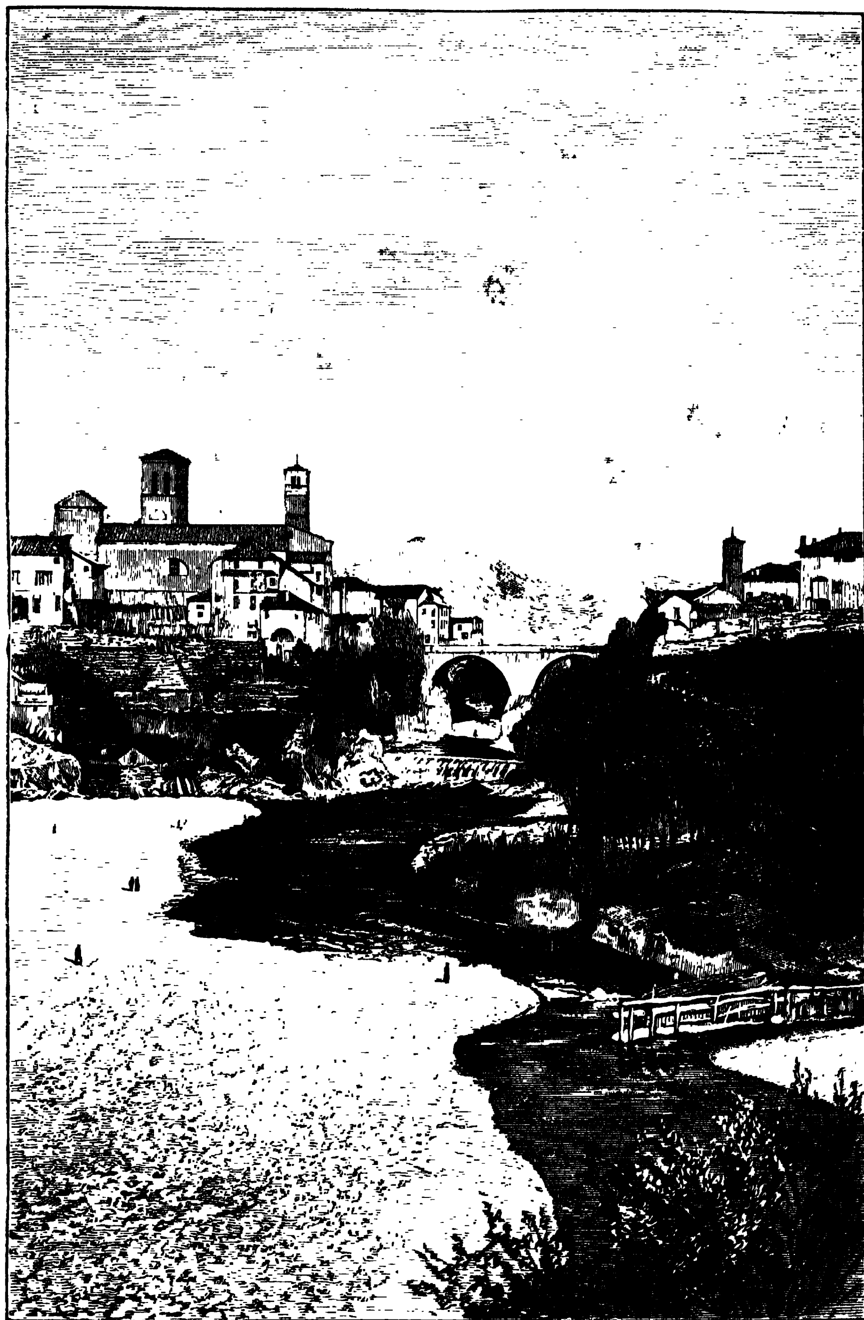
10. Aripert, A.D. 701–712. Solidus. *Obv.* D.N. ARIPER. Same as last; in front, H. *Rev.* Same as last. *Gold.*

11. Liutprand, A. D. 712–744. Solidus. *Obv.* D.N. LVTPRAN. Same as No. 9; in front of head, H. *Rev.* Same as No. 9. *Gold.*

This coin shows traces of mis-striking. The piece which was struck before it not having been taken off the die; the letters are shown in intaglio on the present coin.

DUKES OF BENEVENTUM.

12. Gisulf I, A. D. 689–706. Triens. *Obv.* D.N. IVSVP. Bust facing, wearing diadem; in right hand orb. *Rev.* VICTVS. Cross on l. ꞇ (Gisulf); below, CONOB. *Gold.*
13. Romwald II, A. D. 706–730. Solidus. *Obv.* D.N. IVSHNVS AVG. Bust facing, wearing diadem; in right hand orb. *Rev.* VICTORA AVGVS. Cross on steps; on left, R (Romwald); below, CONOB. *Gold.*
14. Audelas, A. D. 730–732. Triens. As No. 12, but on *rev.* on right of cross monogram, AVDE. *Gold.*
15. Gregory, A. D. 732–739. Solidus. *Obv.* D.N. INVS. P.P. Bust as No. 13. *Rev.* VICTOR. AGVSTO. Same as No. 13; on left of cross ꭓ; on right ꞇ (Gregory). *Gold.*
16. Godescalc, A. D. 739–742. Triens. Similar to No. 12; but on either side of cross on *rev.* ꞇ ⊏ (Godescalc). *Gold.*
17. Gisulf II, A. D. 742–751. Solidus. Similar to No. 13; but on either side of cross on *rev.* ꞇ ꭓ (Gisulf).



PONTE DEL DIAVOLO: CIVIDALE (FORUM JULII)

THE JULIAN ALPS IN THE DISTANCE

Frontispiece to Vol. V

BOOK VI.

THE LOMBARD INVASION.

THE four invading nations whose history has been already related left no enduring memorial of their presence in Italy. The Visigoth, the Hun, the Vandal, the Ostrogoth failed to connect their names with even a single province or a single city of the Imperial land. What these mighty nations had failed to effect, an obscure and savage horde from Pannonia successfully accomplished. Coming last of all across the ridges of the Alps, the Lombards found the venerable Mother of empires exhausted by all her previous conflicts, and unable to offer any longer even the passive resistance of despair. Hence it came to pass that where others had but come in like a devouring flood and then vanished away, the Lombard remained. Hence it has arisen that he has written his name for ever on that marvel of the munificence of nature BOOK VI.

'The waveless plain of Lombardy.'

Strange indeed is the contrast between the earlier and the later fortunes of this people, between the misty marshes of the Elbe and the purple Apennines of

BOOK VI Italy, between the rude and lightly abandoned hut of the nomadic Langobard and the unsurpassed loveliness of the towers of Verona. From the warriors 'fiercer than even the ordinary fierceness of the Germans[1],' what a change to the pale 'Master of Sentences,' Peter the Lombard, intent on the endless distinctions which made up his system of philosophy. Nay, we may go a step further, and by a kind of spiritual ancestry connect London itself with the descendants of this strange and savage people. There is a street in London bearing the Lombard's name, trodden daily by millions of hurrying footsteps, a street the borders of which are more precious than if it were a river with golden sands. From the solitary Elbe pastures, occasionally roamed over by some savage Langobardic herdsman, there reaches a distinct historic chain of causes and effects, which connects those desolate moorlands with the fullness and the whirl of London's Lombard Street.

It was not however till the year 568 that the Lombards entered Italy. Between the defeat of Teias at Monte Lettere and that date, there intervened sixteen years of more or less trouble for Italy, the history of which will be told in the first two chapters of this volume. It will then be our duty to remount the stream of time through several centuries, in order to trace the early history of the Lombards.

[1] 'Fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germanâ feritate ferocior' (Velleius Paterculus, ii. 106).

CHAPTER I.

THE ALAMANNIC BRETHREN.

Authorities.

Sources :—

FOR the chief events recorded in this chapter we have the advantage of a strictly contemporary, though not always accurate, authority, AGATHIAS, a poetical lawyer of Constantinople. Agathias was born, probably about 536, at the little town of Myrina, on the north-west coast of Asia Minor, just where the borders of Mysia and Lydia meet[1]. His father, who was an advocate, appears to have removed to Constantinople while Agathias was still a boy. The future historian studied law at Alexandria, but in the year 554 he returned to Constantinople, where he probably completed the usual five years' course of a barrister. When he was just about to pass his final examination he crossed the Golden Horn to Pera, then a quiet country retreat, in order that he might study undisturbed. He describes, with some poetic feeling, the fresh green of the woods around him, and the thickets made musical by the songs of goldfinches, but all these natural charms could not atone for the absence of his friend Paul the life-guardsman, to whom he was writing, or of his sweetheart, 'the slender antelope' Damalis.

He must have been successful in his studies, for he obtained the title 'Scholasticus,' which is practically equivalent to that

[1] In the inscription on the statue to Agathias by the grammarian Michael (see the Bonn edition, p. xxi) Myrina is called πόλις δίζυγος. Perhaps this has reference to the fact of its being situated on the frontier of two provinces.

BOOK VI. CH. 1.

of barrister, and his life was passed in the courts of law, but he gives us to understand that his heart was always not in law, but in literature. 'Writing history,' says he[1], 'is the greatest and noblest of all achievements, but with me it has to take the place of a mere side-pursuit and accessory of my life[2]. For when I would gladly have my spirit clear and my mind unruffled, in order that I might hold communion with the wise of old and catch something of their manner of speech, or else that I might inquire accurately into the precise circumstances of each event that I have to record, instead of this I have to sit in the law-courts from dawn to dark, turning over parchments which are full of endless lawsuits. I am worried when clients come and beset me with their questions, but I am yet more worried when they leave me alone, for then I begin to despair of earning my daily bread.' Upon the whole he seems to have suffered more from clients than from the absence of clients, for he speaks of himself as having built a fine house, and the statues erected to him and to his father and brother at Myrina were an acknowledgement of important benefits conferred by him on his native town.

His first literary productions were amatory poems and epigrams, of which only a few survive, and with which we have here no concern. It was probably at the instigation of his friend Paul the life-guardsman that about the year 566 he conceived the idea of writing a history in continuation of the work of Procopius, and began to collect materials for that end. Some cause with which we are not acquainted, probably his death, prevented his completing his work. We have no information whatever as to the date of his death, and can only say that it must have been after 578, since he alludes to the death of Justin II, which occurred in that year, and which he intended to describe in his history[3]. But the history itself, which begins with the events of 553, ends abruptly with the repulse of the Kotrigur Huns by Belisarius in 559[4]. Evidently the picture was not filled up according to the intention of the artist.

Owing to the inevitable comparison with Procopius, Agathias has scarcely received the credit to which he is justly entitled as a historian. He is undoubtedly too diffuse, too fond of inter-

[1] Hist. iii. 1.

[2] ὁδοῦ τε καὶ βίου πάρεργον γίγνεται.

[3] Hist. iv. 22 (p. 255 ed. Bonn).

[4] See vol. iv. 592–600.

larding his story with reflections, which are sometimes vapid and commonplace: his affectation of an archaic style is often ridiculous, and we are provoked when we find some rare and half-forgotten Homeric epithet thrust into the middle of what should be a plain narrative of a campaign in the sixth century after Christ. Thus we are not wholly indisposed to sympathize with Gibbon's sarcasm, 'We must now relinquish a statesman and soldier, to attend the footsteps of a poet and rhetorician.' But on the other hand there is something about the character of Agathias which tends to inspire us with confidence, with more confidence indeed than we can always give to the cynical and perhaps[1] insincere Procopius. Agathias, in the Introduction to his history, makes some remarks on the duty of the historian to inquire after truth without fear or favour. These remarks, if somewhat trite, teach a lesson which the partisan-historian, whether of the sixth century or the nineteenth, would have done well to lay to heart: and we have every reason to believe that Agathias has striven to practise his own precepts, and to convey to the mind of his reader *la vraie vérité* of the events which he records[2]. At the same time it must be admitted that his information, especially with reference to the affairs of the west of

[1] I use the word 'perhaps' to indicate the shade of doubt which hangs over the Procopian authorship of the Anecdota.

[2] There is a very fair estimate of the merits and defects of Agathias in Niebuhr's life of him prefixed to the Bonn edition. He blames, as every one must blame, his affected style, his want of grave and statesmanlike discourse, but he considers him to be perfectly free from adulation and envy, a much better man than Procopius, and even in his diction as much superior to the writers who follow him as he is inferior to his master. There is also an excellent, and on the whole favourable, estimate of the literary qualities of Agathias in v. Schubert's Unterwerfung der Alamannen, p. 95. V. Schubert conjectures (p. 115), I think with much probability, that Agathias may have derived his full and accurate information as to the Franks, and especially as to the Austrasian monarchy, from one of King Sigebert's ambassadors to Constantinople in the year 566, perhaps from Firminus, one of those ambassadors who was Count of Arverni and belonged to a distinguished Gallo-Roman family.

(The student who is using Agathias in the Bonn edition of the Byzantine Historians must be careful not to trust to the marginal

BOOK VI. Ch. 1.

Europe, is often very imperfect, and that partly from want of personal knowledge of the ground. His accounts of campaigns in Italy are sometimes confused and difficult to follow.

Remnants of the Gothic nation in Italy.

THE Goths, who had fought under their last king, Teias, at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, made, as the reader will remember, a compact with their conqueror Narses that they should receive certain sums of money, and march forth out of Italy to live as free men, somewhere among their barbarian kinsmen. Either similar conditions were not offered to the other Goths scattered up and down through Italy, or having been offered and accepted they had been afterwards repented of, for when the history of Agathias commences, the curtain rises on a number of detachments of Gothic soldiers, some settled in Tuscia and Liguria, some wandering about from city to city of Venetia, all of them bent on remaining in Italy, and equally determined to abjure the service of the Emperor. With this intent, knowing themselves to be too weak to fight the Emperor single-handed, they decided to make one more desperate appeal to the Franks.

As the history of Italy now becomes almost inextricably intertwined with that of the Franks, and will so continue for a large part of the period embraced by this volume, it will be well briefly to summarize some of the chief events in Frankish history during the forty-three years which elapsed after the death of Clovis.

Frankish affairs.

The founder of the Frankish monarchy, dying in 511, was succeeded by his four sons, who divided his

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dates, which, at any rate for the Italian part of the history (pp. 1–95), are all a year wrong, 552 being put for 553, 553 for 554, and 554 for 555.)

unwieldy and ill-compacted kingdom between them. The division was conducted on a most singular plan: all kinds of outlying cities and districts being allotted to each brother. It was perhaps not desired, certainly it was not attempted, to give to each brother a well-rounded territory with a defensible frontier. But as a mere approximation to the truth, we may say that the eldest son, *Theodoric*, received for his portion the country on both banks of the Rhine, Lorraine, Champagne and Auvergne, with the city of Metz for his capital. *Chlodomir*, from the city of Orleans, ruled the provinces watered by the Loire. *Childebert* had the country by the Seine, Brittany and Normandy, and Paris was his chief city. *Chlotochar*, the youngest of the brothers, but the one who was destined one day to reunite the whole inheritance, had his capital at Soissons, and governed the country by the Meuse and the plains of Flanders.

But the sons of Clovis had no intention of remaining satisfied with the ample dominions won by their father. In 523 the three younger brothers invaded the neighbouring kingdom of Burgundy, defeated its king, their cousin Sigismund, and seemed on the point of conquering the country. But the vigour of Sigismund's younger brother, Godomar, averted for a time the threatened calamity. In the battle of Veseronce, Chlodomir, the eldest of the three brothers, was slain, and his fall so discouraged the Franks that they fled from the field, and their army retired from the rescued land[1].

Then followed a well-known domestic tragedy. The two royal brothers, Childebert and Chlotochar, deter-

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 414–416.

mined to lay hands on the heritage of the dead Chlodomir, and for that purpose to put his little children out of the way. With cruel courtesy they sent a messenger to their mother, the aged Clotilda, to ask whether she would prefer that her grandchildren should receive the priestly tonsure or be slain with the sword, and when she in her agony cried out, 'I would rather see them slain than shorn of their royal locks,' they chose to consider this as sanctioning their crime, and slew the children with their own hands, the cold-blooded, saturnine Chlotochar preventing his brother, the weaker villain of the two, from faltering in the execution of their common purpose.

In 531 Theodoric overthrew the kingdom of the Thuringians, defeating and slaying Hermanfrid, who had married Amalaberga, the niece of the great Theodoric[1].

In 532 a fresh invasion of Burgundy was begun, Theodoric apparently now joining his younger brothers in the enterprise. This invasion was ultimately, though not immediately, successful. In 534, Godomar was defeated while attempting to raise the siege of Autun, and the Frankish kings divided his dominions between them[2]. Henceforward Burgundy was 'a geographical expression'—of much historical interest indeed, and with wide and varying boundaries—but no longer a national kingdom.

The Frankish tribe had now subjected to themselves almost the whole of the fair land which to-day goes by their name, together with a vast extent of territory

[1] See vol. iii. p. 296.

[2] Compare vol. iii. p. 592, and Jahn (Geschichte der Burgundionen, ii. 71) for the chronology.

in what we now call Germany. We may omit for the present further reference to the concerns of *western* Gaul, not troubling ourselves with the feuds and reconciliations of Childebert and Chlotochar, and may concentrate our attention on the kings of Metz, or, as they were perhaps already called, the kings of *Austrasia* (Eastern-land).

Theudebert, King of Austrasia, 534–548.

Theodoric died in 534, apparently before the conquest of Burgundy was completed, and was succeeded by his son *Theudebert*[1], who hastened home from his camp when he heard of his father's sickness, and by prompt action and timely liberality to his *leudes* (the warrior-chiefs who stood nearest to his throne), defeated his uncles' endeavours to possess themselves of his inheritance. For Theudebert was no puny boy, to be thrust contemptuously into a cloister, as had been done with St. Cloud, the only one of the sons of Chlodomir who escaped his uncles' daggers. He was a bold and enterprising prince[2], with far-reaching schemes of conquest and government, dreaming of invasions of Moesia and Thrace, accomplishing the subjection of his haughty Frankish warriors to a land-tax, and issuing—the first barbarian king who took so much upon him—gold coins like those of the Emperor, with his own name and effigy[3].

Theudebert's

The sore troubles of the Ostrogothic people, caused

[1] Agathias spells the name Θευδίβερτος, and I have followed this spelling in an earlier volume, but there is a preponderance of authority in favour of Theud*e*bert, though Gregory calls him Theud*o*bertus.

[2] *τολμητίας ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ταραχώδης* (Agathias, i. 4). 'Magnus et in omni bonitate praecipuus: regnum cum iustitiâ regens, sacerdotes venerans, ecclesias munerans, pauperes relevans' (Greg. Tur. iii. 25).

[3] See vol. iv. pp. 611–612.

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connexion with Italian affairs.

by Belisarius' invasion of Italy, brought much increase of power to their Frankish neighbours. We have seen that Witigis in the autumn of 536, or ever he marched to his fatal siege of Rome, ceded to them Provence and all the countries on the lower course of the Rhone, which had formed part of the kingdom of Theodoric, and at the same time handed over £80,000 from the Gothic to the Frankish treasury. At this crisis also we have reason to believe that the protection which the Ostrogothic monarchy had afforded to the Alamanni and the Bavarians in the province of Raetia was withdrawn[1], and that they too were absorbed in the great Frankish monarchy which now stretched over the larger part of southern Germany till it reached the frontier of Pannonia[2].

The long siege of Rome ended, as we have seen, in the spring of 538, disastrously for the Gothic besiegers. But the one event which shed a momentary gleam of prosperity on their cause was the capture of the great
539. city of Milan (which had welcomed an imperial garrison), after a siege which lasted about half a year. This capture was accomplished by the aid of 10,000 Burgundians, subjects of king Theudebert, whom he had permitted to cross the Alps, and serve under the Ostrogothic standards, while representing to the ambassadors of Justinian that they went of their

[1] See as to this renunciation v. Schubert, Unterwerfung der Alamannen, pp. 107–109, 119–125. As to the possibly contemporaneous and voluntary incorporation of the Bavarians with the Frankish monarchy, see Quitzmann, Aelteste Geschichte der Baiern, pp. 137–143.

[2] 'Per Danuvium et limitem Pannoniae usque in Oceani litoribus dominatio nostra porrigitur.' Theudebert's letter to Justinian (apud Bouquet, iv. p. 59: quoted by v. Schubert, p. 121).

own free will, and that he was not responsible for their action. The very suggestion of such an excuse shows how little solidarity as yet existed in the great unwieldy mass of the Frankish dominions [1]. BOOK VI. CH. 1.

Soon, however, this pretence of feebleness was laid aside, and in the same year which witnessed the fall of Milan, Theudebert descended the Alps with 100,000 men, prepared to make war impartially on both the combatants, shedding Gothic and Greek blood with equal unconcern, but determined to pluck out of their calamities no small advantage for himself. Their savage deeds at Pavia, their rout of both armies under the walls of Tortona, the pestilence which carried off a third of their number, as they lay encamped on the plains of Liguria, and compelled their return to their own land, have already been described [2]. It seems clear, however, that though Theudebert returned to the north of the Alps, he did not relinquish all the advantages which he had gained. It is true that Witigis in the supreme moment of the Gothic despair, just before 540. the surrender of Ravenna, refused to avoid submission to Justinian by accepting the dangerous help of Theudebert [3], but that refusal did not compel the entire evacuation of Italy by the Franks. Even Procopius, who dislikes that nation and seeks to minimize their success, admits that the larger part of Venetia, a good deal of Liguria, and the province known as Alpes Cottiae [4] were retained by Theudebert [5].

A king whose unscrupulous energy had so greatly

[1] See vol. iv. pp. 330–334.

[2] See vol. iv. pp. 348–351.

[3] See vol. iv. p. 370.

[4] Which included the Western and Eastern Riviera.

[5] De Bell. Gott. iii. 33; iv. 24. For the reconquest of this territory see p. 55, note 2.

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enlarged the borders of his realm, a king who, more than any other of his kindred, reproduced the type of character seen in their great ancestor Clovis, was probably obeyed with enthusiasm by his barbarous subjects, and was disposed to hold his head high among the monarchs of the world. He watched the gallant defence of the Gothic nation made by Totila perhaps with increasing sympathy, certainly with increasing dislike for the arrogant pretensions which, both in victory and in defeat, were urged by Justinian. For

Theudebert's indignation at the titles assumed by Justinian.

Justinian, so Theudebert was truly told, called himself (as in the well-known preface to the Institutes) 'victor of the Franks and the Alamanni, of the Gepidae and the Langobardi,' and added many other proud titles derived from conquered and enslaved peoples[1]. Why should this pampered Eastern despot, who had never himself set armies in the field, nor felt the shock of battle, give himself out as the lord of so many brave nations, the least of whose chieftains was a better man than he[2]? Such were the self-colloquies that set the brain of Theudebert on fire. He contemplated a sort of league of the new barbarian kingdoms,

[1] *Ὅτι δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν τοῖς προγράμμασι τοῖς βασιλείοις Φραγγικός τε καὶ Ἀλαμανικὸς ἔτι δὲ Γηπαιδικός τε καὶ Λογγιβαρδικός, καὶ ἑτέροις τοιοῖσδε ὀνόμασιν ἀνεκηρύττετο, ὡς δὴ τούτων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἁπάντων δεδουλωμένων* (Agathias, i. 4). In the Institutes and Code Justinian proclaims himself 'Alamanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, Pius.' The title Gepaedicus, mentioned by Agathias, was probably assumed after some of the skirmishes with the Gepidae alluded to by Procopius in the De Bello Gotthico, iii. 33–34. Certainly Justinian had little justification in fact for the title, so unwisely assumed, of Francicus.

[2] In describing the emotions of Theudebert I have somewhat amplified the words of Agathias.

Frankish, Gepid, Langobard, to quell the arrogance of the Emperor, and he would probably have led an army into Thrace or Illyria—who can say with what result?—but that all his great projects were cut short by his early death. The authorities differ as to the cause of this premature ending of what might have been a great career. Both Procopius[1] and Gregory of Tours[2] attribute it to lingering disease; but Agathias, who is singularly well informed on Frankish affairs, says that when Theudebert was hunting in the forest, a buffalo[3], which he was about to pierce with his javelin, rushed towards him, overthrowing a tree by the fury of its onset. Not the stroke of the buffalo's horns, but the crash of a branch of the tree on the king's head, gave him a fatal wound, of which he died on the same day[4].

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Death of Theudebert, 548.

But whatever the cause of death, the gallant king of the eastern Franks was dead, and his son, a sickly and feeble child named Theudebald, sat on his throne[5]. To him, as we have seen[6], Justinian sent an embassy

Accession of Theudebald.

[1] De Bell. Gott. iv. 24. [2] Hist. Franc. iii. 36.

[[3] βούβαλος, probably a bison, or aurochs, resembling the American 'buffalo' rather than the buffalo which is now common in S. Italy and the Balkans. The latter is a domestic animal, and has probably been imported into Italy viâ Egypt.]

[4] It seems to me that we may nearly reconcile the two accounts if we admit that Agathias is in error in representing death as the *immediate* result of the accident. His story is in itself probable enough. So young and vigorous a man as Theudebert is rather more likely to have died from the indirect effect of a blow than from constitutional disease.

[5] Theudebald was probably about ten years old at his accession. He was born certainly after 534 (Greg. H. F. iii. 27): he was still 'parvolus' in 554, but able to contract one of the early Merovingian marriages in that year (ibid. iv. 6. 9). Cf. Schubert, Unterwerfung der Alamannen, p. 113. [6] Vol. iv. p. 701.

BOOK VI. CH. 1. 553. in 551, endeavouring to persuade him to recall his troops from northern Italy. The ambassador, Leontius, returned unsuccessful; but though the Frankish soldiers remained south of the Alps, guarding the territories which they had won, they do not appear to have rendered any effective assistance to Totila or Teias in the last struggle of those brave men for Gothic independence.

Embassy from the Goths of Italy to the Court of Theudebald.

And now, in the early months of 553, when Teias had met a warrior's death in sight of the cone of Vesuvius, another embassy came from the slender remnant of the Goths who still held out in Upper Italy[1], beseeching the Frankish king to undertake the championship of their cause. According to the report of the speech supplied—possibly from his own imagination—by Agathias, the ambassadors implored the Franks in their own interest not to allow this all-devouring Emperor to destroy the last relics of the Gothic name. If they did, they would soon have cause bitterly to repent it, for, the Goths once rooted out, it would be the turn of the Franks next. The Empire would never lack specious pretexts for a quarrel, but would go back, if need were, to the times of Camillus or Marius for a grievance against the inhabitants of Gaul. Even thus had the Emperors treated the Goths, permitting, nay inviting their King Theodoric to enter Italy and root out the followers of Odovacar, and then, on the most shadowy and unjust pretexts, invading their land, butchering their sons, and selling their wives and daughters into slavery. And yet these emperors called themselves wise and

[1] Πρὸς Θευδίβαλδον ἀναφανδὸν ἐπρεσβεύοντο. οὐ μὴν ἅπαν γε τὸ ἔθνος, μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἐκτὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ἱδρυμένοι (Agath. i. 5). I suppose that ἐκτός here means 'beyond' from the point of view of a dweller in Rome.

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religious men, and boasted that they alone could rule a kingdom righteously. 'Help us,' said the Gothic orators, in conclusion, 'help us in this crisis of our fortunes; so shall you earn the everlasting gratitude of our nation, and enrich yourselves with enormous wealth, not only the spoils of the Romans, but the treasures of the great Gothic hoard, which we will gladly make over to you[1].'

Theudebald declines to help the Goths.

The appeal of the Goths fell on unheeding ears, as far as the Frankish king was concerned. The timid and delicate Theudebald shrank from the hardships of war, and had none of his father's desire to measure his strength against Justinianus Francicus et Alamanicus. But there were two chieftains standing beside his throne, whose eyes gleamed at the mention of the spoils of Italy, and who—so loosely compacted was the great congeries of states which called itself the kingdom of the Franks—could venture to undertake on their own responsibility the war which Theudebald declined.

Leuthar and Butilin, chiefs of the Alamanni, accept the Gothic invitation.

These were two brothers named Leuthar[2] and Butilin, who were leaders of that great Alamannic tribe which, as we have seen, after being protected by Theodoric against Clovis[3], had recently received the Frank instead of the Goth for their over-lord. A wild and savage people they were, still heathen, worshipping trees and mountains and waterfalls (in those Alamanni who dwelt in Switzerland, such nature-worship was

[1] So I think we may fairly interpret the hint of the envoys, *πρὸς δέ γε καὶ χρήματα ὑμῖν ἔσονται μυρία, οὐ μόνον τὰ Ῥωμαίων ληϊσαμένοις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα καταθήσομεν* (Agathias, i. 5).

[2] I think we must not follow Gibbon's example in reading this name as equivalent to Lothair. That name is generally admitted to be another form of Chlotochar, which Agathias writes Χλωθάριος. The Alamannic chieftain's name is written by him *Λεύθαρις*.

[3] Vol. iii. p. 391.

BOOK VI. CH. 1. 553. perhaps excusable), cutting off the heads of horses and oxen, and offering them in sacrifice to their gods, but gradually becoming slightly more civilized owing to their contact with the Franks. Deep, indeed, must have been the barbarism of that nation which could gain any increased softness of manners from intercourse with the Franks of the sixth century[1].

Thus then, with high hopes and confident of victory, the two chiefs at the head of their barbarous hordes rushed down into Italy. Already they saw in imagination the whole fair peninsula their own; they discussed the question of the conquest of Sicily; they marvelled at the slackness of the Goths who had allowed themselves to be conquered by such a delicate and womanish thing, such a haunter of the *thalamus*, such a mere shadow of a man as the Eunuch Narses[2]. The despised general was, however, meanwhile pressing on the war with the utmost vigour, in order to obtain the surrender of the fortresses still held for the Goths in Etruria and Campania, before their barbarian allies could appear upon the scene. His chief

[1] We get this interesting little sketch of the customs of the Alamanni from Agathias (i. 6. 7). He quotes from the lost 'Germanica' of Asinius Quadratus (third century A.D.) as to the origin of the name Alamanni, and expresses his dislike of the gory sacrifices not only of the Alamanni, but of more cultivated nations like the Greeks and Persians. 'Do not say,' he argues with his reader, 'that discussions of this kind are foreign to the purpose of my history. What is history but an idle tale fit to be told in the apartments of the women to girls busy at their wool-work, unless it deals with the great problems of human life and aims at the improvement of our fellow-men?'

[2] Θαυμάζειν δὲ ἔφασαν τῶν Γότθων. εἰ μάλα οὕτω πεφρίκασιν ἀνδράριόν τι θαλαμηπόλον σκιατραφές τε καὶ ἁβροδίαιτον. Καὶ πόρρω τοῦ ἀρρενωποῦ τεταγμένον (Agath. i. 7). Have we here a covert allusion to the story of Sophia's insulting message to Narses?

endeavours were directed to procure the early surrender of Cumae, where Aligern, the brother of Teias, still guarded the Gothic hoard, and in order that no point in the game might be lost, he superintended the siege in person.

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The city of Cumae, founded by settlers from Euboea on a promontory just outside the bay of Naples, was for many generations the stronghold of Hellenic civilisation in southern Italy, and it was from her walls that the emigrants went forth to found that colony of Neapolis which was one day so immeasurably to surpass the greatness of the mother-city. For two centuries (700–500 B.C.) Cumae successfully resisted the attacks of her Etrurian neighbours, but at last (about 420 B.C.) she was stormed by the Samnite mountaineers, and from that day her high place in history knew her no more. Now, after so many centuries, the half-forgotten Campanian city became once more the theatre of mighty deeds; and even as the fortress on the lonely promontory saw the waves of the Mediterranean breaking on the rocks at its foot, so were Narses and his Greek-speaking host now foiled by the very fortress which had once sheltered the Greek against the Etruscan.

Siege of Cumae by Narses.

The old city of Cumae, which stretched down into the plain, had probably vanished long before the Gothic war began: at any rate it seems to have been the rock-perched citadel, not the city, which Narses had now to besiege. The chief gate of the fortress was situated on its least inaccessible, south-eastern side[1], and against this the chief efforts of the besiegers

[1] So says Beloch (Campanien, p. 159). I regret that I cannot speak of Cumae from personal observation.

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were directed. The mighty engines of the Imperial army discharged their huge missiles, but were met by equally formidable preparations on the part of the besieged, who from their ramparts hurled great stones, trunks of trees, axes, whatever came readiest to hand, upon the ranks of the besiegers. It is strange that we hear nothing of Herodian, that deserter from the Imperial cause[1], whose utter despair of forgiveness must surely have made him one of the chief leaders of the fierce resistance. Aligern, the youngest brother of Teias, strode round the ramparts, not only cheering on the defenders but setting them an example of warlike prowess. The arrows shot from his terrible bow broke even stones to splinters: and when a certain Palladius, one of the chief officers of Narses, trusting too confidently in his iron breastplate, came rushing to the wall at the head of one of the storming parties, Aligern took careful aim at him from the ramparts, and transfixed him with an arrow which pierced both shield and breastplate.

The Sibyl's Cave.

This long delay before so comparatively insignificant a fortress chafed the Eunuch's soul, and he began to meditate other schemes for its reduction. The trachyte rock on which Cumae stands is still honeycombed with caves and grottoes, and one of these at the south-eastern corner of the cliffs, which bore the name of Virgil's Sibyl, was so situated that the wall of the fortress at that point actually rested on its roof[2].

[1] See vol. iv. pp. 522, 735.

[2] I think, from Beloch's description (p. 160), that it is in this part of the Acropolis of Cumae that the following inscription has been discovered,

APOLLINI CVMANO
Q. TINEIVS RVFVS

Into this grotto Narses sent a troop of sappers and miners, who with their mining tools hewed away the rock above them, till the foundation stones of the wall of the fortress were actually visible. They were of course careful to underpin the roof with wooden beams so that no premature subsidence should reveal their operations, and to prevent the noise of their tools from being heard the troops made perpetual alarums and excursions against that part of the wall while the work was proceeding. At length, when all was completed, the workmen set fire to a mass of dry leaves and other rubbish which they had collected within it and fled from the Sibyl's cave. As a piece of engineering the work was successful. The walls began slowly to sink into the ground: the great gate, tightly barred against the enemy, fell, carrying a large piece of the wall with it: base and wall, cornice and battlement, rolled down the cliffs into the gorge below[1]. And yet, when the Imperial troops were hoping to press in through the breach thus made, and capture the fortress as if with a shout, they were baulked of their desire. For such was the nature of the igneous rock on which the citadel was built, so seamed with cracks and fissures, that when this piece of the wall was gone, there was still a narrow ravine, steep and untraversable, intervening between

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confirming the view that it was here that popular tradition under the Empire placed the grotto of the Sibyl. That which is now shown as her grotto, on the south side of Lake Avernus, is apparently an unfinished tunnel like that which Cocceius excavated between Avernus and Cumae.

[1] Agathias says 'down to the sea-shore,' but I do not see how this could well be if the breach was effected in the *eastern* wall of the city.

C 2



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them and the towers in which lay hidden the Gothic hoard.

553. Siege of Cumae turned into a blockade.

Foiled in this endeavour and in one more attempt to carry the fortress by storm, Narses was reluctantly compelled to turn the siege into a blockade. He left a considerable body of troops who surrounded the citadel with a deep ditch and watched, to cut off any of the garrison who might wander forth in search of fodder. Narses himself, still anxious to complete as far as possible the subjugation of Italy ere Leuthar and Butilin, who had already reached the Po, should penetrate further into the peninsula, marched into Tuscia to reduce the cities in that province, while he directed the other generals to cross the Apennines, occupy the strongest places in the valley of the Po, and, without risking a general engagement, harass the enemy as much as possible by skirmishing warfare.

These generals were of course chiefly those with whom we have already made acquaintance in the course of the Gothic war.

Imperial Generals.

There was John, the nephew of Vitalian, the old ally of Narses against Belisarius, the kinsman of Justinian through his marriage with the daughter of Germanus[1]. There were the ineffective Valerian[2], and Artabanes the Armenian prince whom Justinian had so generously forgiven for his share in a foul conspiracy against his life[3]. But there was not the king of the Heruli, Philemuth[4], whose name had been so often coupled with theirs, for he had died of disease a few days previously and had been succeeded in the command of the 3,000 Herulian *foederati* by his

[1] See vol. iv. pp. 256, 302, 317, 521, &c. [2] Vol. iv. p. 584.
[3] Vol. iv. pp. 628–635. [4] Vol. iv. pp. 704, 733, &c.

nephew Phulcaris, a brave soldier but an unskilful general.

553. Siege of Lucca.

Most of the cities of Etruria surrendered speedily to the Imperial officers. Centumcellae[1], 'lordly Volaterrae,' Luna, Florence, Pisa, all opened their gates, on condition that they were to be treated as friends of their restored lord and not to suffer pillage from his troops. There was one exception which caused the impatient Narses some days of tedious delay. The garrison of Lucca had pledged themselves to surrender their city within thirty days if no succour reached them, and had given hostages for the fulfilment of their promise. But when the specified days had passed, being elated by the hope of the speedy arrival of the Alamannic host, they refused to keep their pledge. At this there were loud and angry voices in the Imperial camp, calling for the slaughter of the hostages. But Narses, though chafing at the delay, could not bring himself to kill these men for the fault of their fellows. He determined, however, to work upon the fears of the garrison and therefore ordered the hostages to be brought out into the plain beneath the city walls with their hands tied behind their backs, their heads bent forward, and all the appearance of criminals awaiting execution. As the threat of punishment did not shake the resolution of the garrison he proceeded to a sham execution of his prisoners. The soldiers on the walls could see their friends kneeling down as if for death, and the executioners with their bright blades standing over each. They could not see, for the comedy was enacted too far from their walls, that each prisoner had in

[1] Now Civita Vecchia.

BOOK VI. CH. 1. 553. fact a wooden lath fastened to the nape of his neck and covered with an apparent head-dress projecting above his real head. The town would not surrender, the bright swords flashed, the heads of the hostages were apparently severed from their bodies: obedient to the word of command they fell prostrate on the ground and after a few well-feigned wrigglings all apparently was over.

Then arose from the walls of Lucca a cry of agony and indignation. The hostages were among the noblest of the Gothic host, and while their mothers and wives gashed their faces and rent their garments in their grief, the soldiers, with shrill cries, exclaimed against the hard and arrogant heart of the Eunuch who had put so many brave men to death, and against the disgusting hypocrisy of the votary of the Virgin, who had shed so much innocent Christian blood. Narses thereupon drew near to the walls and severely rebuked the garrison for the breach of faith which had been the cause of this slaughter. 'But even now,' said he, 'if you will repent of your evil deeds and surrender the city according to your promise, no harm shall happen to you, and you shall receive your friends once more alive from the dead.' 'Agreed! agreed!' shouted the garrison, 'the city shall be thine if thou canst call the dead back to life.' With that Narses bade his prostrate prisoners arise and marched them all up to the wall of the city. The garrison, who were dimly conscious of the trick that had been played upon them, again went back from their plighted word and refused to surrender the city. Then Narses, with really astonishing magnanimity, sent the hostages all back, unharmed and unransomed, to their Gothic friends. Even the

garrison marvelled: but he said to them, 'It is not my way to raise fond hopes and then to dash them to the ground. And it is not upon the hostages that I rely: it is *this*,' and therewith he touched his sword, 'which shall soon reduce you to submission.' But, in fact, the liberated and grateful hostages, moving about among their fellow-countrymen and telling every one of the courtesy and affability of their late captor and the mingled mercy and justice of his rule, soon formed a strong Imperialist party within the walls of Lucca and familiarised the minds of the garrison with the thought of surrender.

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Death of Phulcaris the Herulian.

While Narses was still busied with the siege of Lucca, an unexpected disaster elsewhere befell a portion of his army. He had ordered his chief generals, John, Artabanes, Phulcaris, to concentrate their forces for the capture of Parma, in order that, from that strong city, placed as it was right across the great Aemilian Way, they might effectually bar the march of the Franks and Alamanni into central and southern Italy, and cover his own operations before the walls of Lucca. The other generals would seem to have performed at any rate part of their march in safety, but the unfortunate Herulian, Phulcaris, moving blindly forward, without making any proper reconnaissance, fell headlong into a trap prepared for him by Butilin, who had posted a considerable body of troops in the Amphitheatre near the town. At a given signal these men rushed forth and fell upon the Herulians who were marching along the great highway in careless disorder. Fearful butchery was followed by disgraceful flight: only the brave blunderer Phulcaris and his *comitatus* remained upon the field. They took up a position in

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front of a lofty tomb which bordered on the Aemilian, as that of Caecilia Metella borders on the Appian Way, and there prepared to die the death of soldiers. They made many a fierce and murderous onslaught on their foes, returning in an ever-narrower circle to the momentary shelter of their tomb. Still flight was possible, and some of the henchmen of Phulcaris advised him to fly. But he, who feared dishonour more than death, answered them, 'And how then should I abide the speech of Narses when he chides me for the carelessness which has brought about this calamity?' And therewith he sallied forth again to the combat, but was speedily overpowered by numbers. His breast was pierced by many javelins, his head was cloven by a Frankish battle-axe, and he fell dead upon his unsurrendered shield. All his henchmen were soon lying dead around him, some having perished by their own swords and some by the weapons of the enemy.

Effect of the tidings on Narses.

The defeat and death of Phulcaris seemed as if it would turn the whole tide of war. The Franks were beyond measure elated by their success. The Goths of Aemilia and Liguria, who had before only corresponded with them in secret, now openly fell away to the invaders. And the Imperial generals, losing heart when they heard of the Herulian's misfortune, relinquished the march upon Parma and skulked off to Faventia[1], some hundred miles or so further down the Aemilian Way and almost in sight of Ravenna. Great was the grief and indignation of Narses when he heard of the death of the brave Herulian and the cowardly retreat of the generals. It seemed as if he might have to raise the tedious

[1] Now Faenza.

siege of Lucca, deprived as he now was of his covering army; and what was worse, the dejection and discouragement of his own soldiers when they heard the fatal tidings, appeared to forebode yet further disasters. But the little withered Eunuch had in him a dauntless heart and was inclined by nature to follow the advice given to Aeneas by the Sibyl of Cumae— BOOK VI. CH. 1. 553.

'The mightier ills thy course oppose
Press the more boldly on thy foes[1].'

First he called his own troops together and addressed them in tones of rough but spirit-stirring eloquence. He told them that they had been spoiled by an unbroken course of victory, and were now ascribing an absurd importance to one solitary defeat, the result of a barbarian's neglect of the rules of scientific warfare. Nay, this very disaster if it taught them prudence and moderation in the hour of success would be well worth its cost. The Goths were really already subdued; they had only the Franks to deal with, strangers to the land, ill-supplied with provisions, and destitute of the shelter of fortified towns which the Imperial troops enjoyed. Only let them address themselves with vigour to the siege of Lucca, and they would soon see a satisfactory end to their labours. The words of the general revived the fainting spirits of his army, and the siege was pressed more closely than ever.

At the same time Narses sent a certain Stephanus of Dyrrhachium, with 200 horsemen, brave in battle, to chide the timid generals who were cowering behind the walls of Faventia. Stephanus had been charged Stephanus sent to the generals at Faventia.

[1] 'Tu ne cede malis; sed contra audentior ito.' Aeneid, vi. 95.

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with a message of fierce rebuke, and the sights and sounds which he saw as he marched through the devastated land, the ruined homesteads, the felled forests, the wailing of the peasantry, the lowing of the cattle driven from their stalls, all gave vehemence to his discourse: 'What spell has come upon you, good sirs? Where is the memory of your former deeds? How can Narses take Lucca and complete the subjugation of Etruria while you are selling the passage over Italy to the foe? I should not like to use the words "cowardice" and "treason," but be assured that others will be less fastidious, and if you do not at once march to Parma and take your allotted share in the campaign, it is not the indignation of Narses merely, but the heavy hand of the Emperor, that you may expect to encounter.'

The generals faltered out their excuses for their inaction. No pay had been received for the troops, and the entire failure of the commissariat, for which they blamed Antiochus, the Praetorian Prefect, who had not fulfilled his promises towards them, had compelled them to relinquish the camp at Parma. There was apparently some ground for these complaints, and accordingly Stephanus betook himself straightway to Ravenna. Having brought back with him Antiochus, and presumably some of the much needed *aurei*, having composed the differences between the civil and military authorities, and ordered the generals to march without further delay to Parma, Stephanus returned to the camp and assured Narses that he might now prosecute the siege with confidence as the returning generals would effectually secure him from the attacks of the barbarians. The Eunuch brought

up his engines close to the walls, and poured a terrible shower of stones and darts upon the garrison who manned the battlements. There was division in the counsels of the besieged, the liberated hostages strongly urging the expediency of surrender to their magnanimous foe, while some Frankish officers [1] who happened to be in the city exhorted the Gothic garrison to resist with greater pertinacity than ever. But the complete failure of a sortie planned by the party of resistance, the terrible gaps made by the besiegers' engines in the ranks of the besieged, and the ruin of a portion of the city wall completed the victory of the party of surrender. Narses received their overtures gladly, showing no sign of resentment at the previous dishonourable conduct of the garrison. The siege, which had lasted three months, was ended; the Imperial troops entered the gates amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, and Lucca was once more a city of the Roman Empire.

Surrender of Lucca,

The surrender of Lucca was followed by a more important event of the same kind, the surrender of Cumae. In the long hours of the blockade, Aligern had had leisure to reflect on the past and to ponder the future of the Gothic race in Italy, and he perceived more and more clearly that the Frankish alliance which his countrymen were so eager to accept meant not alliance but domination. The part which the great Transalpine nation would play in the affairs of Italy was already marked out for it, not by any great

and of Cumae.

[1] Agathias calls these officers ἁρμοσταί, rather a well-chosen archaism, recalling the Harmosts whom Sparta sent forth to govern the dependent cities in Asia Minor after their victory at Aegospotami.

BOOK VI. CH. 1. 553. moral turpitude of its own, but by geographical position and by the inevitable laws of human conduct. They would offer themselves as champions and remain as masters, would undertake to free Italy 'from the Alps to the Adriatic,' and would, if they were victorious, make it not free but Frankish[1]. Of the two lordships, the choice between which alone lay before him, Aligern preferred that which, though practically wielded from Constantinople, was exercised in the name of Rome, which rested on a legitimate foundation, and was still in accordance with the wishes of the people of the land. Influenced by these self-reasonings he signified to the besieging general his desire to visit Narses. A safe-conduct was gladly granted him and he repaired to Classis, where the Eunuch was then abiding. He produced the keys of his rock-fortress, handed them over to Narses, and promised to become the loyal subject of the Emperor, a promise which he faithfully kept, so that, as we shall see hereafter, in the decisive battle with the Alamannic invaders, Justinian had no braver champion than the Ostrogoth, the brother of Teias.

Aligern, governor of Cesena. A portion of the army which had been besieging Cumae was ordered to occupy that fortress, the great Gothic hoard being of course handed over at once to the finance-ministers of the Empire. Aligern received

[1] Agathias says 'it came into the mind of Aligern to consider that the Franks made forsooth a very fine pretence out of the name of Alliance, as though they came into the country in answer to a cry for help, but what they truly purposed and desired would turn out quite a different matter; and that if they got the better of the Romans they would by no means hand over Italy to the Goths but would set over them Frankish rulers and make them live under other laws than those of their fathers' (i. 20).

the post of governor of Cesena, which is situated on the great Aemilian Way, about twenty miles south of Ravenna. Narses desired him to show himself conspicuously on the wall, that all men might know and perceive that the former champion of the Goths was now the champion of Rome. An excellent opportunity soon arrived for this display of himself in his new character. The Franco-Alamannic host arrived under the walls of Cesena, marching southward, intent on the plunder of Campania. They beheld to their astonishment the stalwart figure of Gothic Aligern erect upon the walls of this Imperial city, and heard his words of scorn shouted down from his airy pinnacle[1]: 'You are going on a fool's errand, oh ye Franks, and are come a day after the feast. All the Gothic hoard has been taken by the Romans, yea, and the ensigns of the Gothic sovereignty. If we should ever hereafter proclaim a king of the Goths he will wear no crown or torque of gold, thanks to our Frankish allies, but will have to be dressed as a private soldier.' Then the Franks upbraided him for a deserter and traitor; and they debated among themselves whether it was worth while to continue the war; but they decided in the end not to relinquish their project, and marched on for the Flaminian Way and the passage of the Apennines.

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Narses goes into winter quarters.

Winter was now coming on and the chief care of Narses was to house his troops in the fortified cities of Italy. He knew that he was thus surrendering the open country to the ravages of the Alamannic brethren, but this seemed a lesser evil than keeping his men, children of the south and dependent on warmth,

[1] ἐπεκερτόμει τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου (Agathias, i. 20).

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shivering through the winter in the open fields, while the Franks, still fresh from the chilly north and from the marshes of the Scheldt, sustained no inconvenience and felt no hardship. He himself repaired to Rimini with his train of household troops in order to receive the military oath from Theudebald, king of the Warni (a namesake of the young king of the Austrasian Franks), who had just succeeded to the wandering royalty of his father Wakar, a chieftain in the Imperial army. Simultaneously with the administration of the oath[1], presents were given in the Emperor's name to the young king, and perhaps a donative to all the tribesmen who followed his standard, and thus the bond (for which it is difficult to find a suitable name) that united these Germans from the distant Elbe to 'the Roman Republic' was strengthened and renewed[2].

Theudebald, king of the Warni, swears fealty to the Emperor.

Skirmish between Narses and the Franks.

While Narses was still quartered at Rimini, a band of Franks, 2,000 in number, horsemen and foot-soldiers combined, poured over the plain busied in their work of rapine. From his chamber at the top of the house Narses, with indignant heart, beheld them ravaging the fields, driving off the oxen (those great dun-coloured oxen which plough the fields of Umbria), and carrying away the spoil from hamlet and villa. At length he could bear it no longer, but mounting his war-horse (high-couraged, but trained to perfect

[1] I infer this from the narrative of Agathias (i. 21), but it is not distinctly stated by him.

[2] The geographical position of the Warni at this time is rendered obscure by a passage of Procopius (De Bello Gott. iv. 20), which speaks of the *Rhine* as separating between them and the Franks. But on the whole, it seems safe to speak of the main body of the nation as still dwelling by the Elbe. (See Zeuss, Die Deutschen, &c., p. 361.)

obedience) and gathering round him his followers to the number of 300 horsemen, he rode in pursuit of the marauders. Too wise in war to allow themselves to be vanquished in detail, the Franks left their work of spoliation and formed themselves into a compact mass, the infantry in the centre resting on a dense forest and the cavalry covering the two wings. Narses soon found that his horsemen could make no impression on this small but cleverly posted army, but rather that his own men were suffering from the discharge of the barbed Frankish spears[1]. Hereupon he resorted to a stratagem which his admirer, Agathias, confesses

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The Frankish *Ango.*

[1] Of this hooked spear used by the Franks and called by them *ango* (cf. the Anglo-Saxon *anga*, a spear-head) Agathias gives elsewhere this account: 'The *ango* is a spear, not very small nor yet very great, but of such a size that it can be used as a missile if occasion require, and can also be made available in hand-to-hand encounters. The greater part of this weapon is completely surrounded with iron so that very little of the wood appears, hardly even the whole of the spike at its butt-end (σαυρωτήρ). Above, round the end of the spear, [two] curved barbs project on each side of the spear-tip and bend round and under it like hooks. This *ango* then the Frank hurls in battle, and if it ever hits any one, the point, as may be easily understood, so enters the flesh that it is not easy for the wounded man or any one else to extract it, for the hooks fix themselves in so deeply and inflict such awful agony that the sufferer dies of that pain even though the wound be not in itself fatal. And if it enters the shield it hangs there and cannot be got rid of, but trails on the ground and must be dragged about by the warrior wherever he goes, for the barbs prevent his shaking it out of his shield and the iron sheathing prevents his severing it with his sword. Then when a Frankish soldier sees his enemy thus encumbered, stepping sharply on the butt-end of the spear he forces down the shield, thus depressing the hand of his antagonist, and leaving his head and breast defenceless. Then he easily kills his unguarded foe, either smashing his head with a battle-axe, or piercing his throat with another spear' (Agathias, ii. 5).

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553. to have been of the barbaric type, and more suited to a Hunnish chief than to an Imperial general. He ordered his men to feign panic and flight, and not to return till he gave the signal. The device, however barbaric, justified itself by its success. The Franks, thinking that they saw a chance of ending the war at one stroke by the capture of the great Imperial general, left the safe shelter of the wood and dashed forward in eager pursuit. When all, cavalry and infantry alike, were hurrying in disorder over the plain, Narses gave the signal for return, and the Franks, dreaming of easy victory, found themselves being butchered like sheep by the well-armed and well-mounted horsemen. The cavalry, indeed, made good their return to the wood, but of the infantry 900 fell and the rest with difficulty escaped, disheartened and panic-breeding, to the camp of their generals.

Narses at Ravenna and Rome. After this Narses returned to Ravenna, set in order whatever had gone wrong under the feeble rule of Antiochus[1], and went thence to Rome, where he passed the winter. For a few months, the land, though disquieted by the marauding invaders, had rest from actual war.

Drilling of the Imperial troops. The interval of rest was employed by Narses in patient and systematic drill of his troops. The arm

554. on which he most relied seems to have been his cavalry; at least, we hear how his men were taught to spring nimbly on their horses, and to wheel them to the right or to the left. But the pyrrhic dance, of

[1] Ἄπαντα τὰ τῇδε ἄριστα διαθείς. I allow myself a little use of conjecture in connecting these words with what we have before heard of the faults of Antiochus the Praetorian Prefect.

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which we also hear, was probably performed by the heavy-armed foot-soldier; and all, horsemen and footmen alike, raised in unison the *barritus* (that proudly ascending war-song), when the spirit-stirring notes of the trumpet were heard challenging them to this martial melody[1]. Meanwhile the barbarian armies, like two desolating streams of lava, were pouring over the unhappy peninsula. Keeping far from Rome and the fortresses in its neighbourhood, they marched in company as far as Samnium. There they separated, and Butilin, taking the western coast-road, ravaged Campania, Lucania, Bruttii, down to the very Straits of Messina; while Leuthar, marching down by the Adriatic, visited, in his destructive career, Apulia and Calabria, penetrating as far as the city of Otranto. All were bent on plunder, but a difference was observed between the two invading nationalities whenever they drew near to consecrated buildings. The Franks, mindful of their reputation for Christian orthodoxy, did, as a rule, spare the churches, while the heathen or heretic Alamanni seemed to delight in filling the sacred precincts with filth and gore and the unburied carcases of their victims. They stripped off the roofs and shook the foundations of the churches, and the sacred bowls, the chalices, the patens, and the vessels for holy water, which were often of solid gold, were recklessly carried off to minister to the vulgar pomp of some barbarian chieftain[2].

Barbarian devastation.

[1] See for a description of the *barritus*, vol. i. p. 115 (p. 262 in second edition). Agathias' words, *καὶ θαμὰ τῇ σάλπιγγι καταβομβεῖσθαι τὸ ἐνυάλιον ἐπηχούσῃ*, may, I think, be understood as probably referring to the barritus.

[2] Πολλὰς *μὲν γὰρ κάλπεις ἱεράς, πολλὰ δὲ περιρραντήρια πάγχρυσα,*

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B.C. 207. The Alamannic brethren divide. 554.

Seven hundred and sixty-one years before, two brothers (but how different from this pair of blundering barbarians) had led two armies into Italy, hoping, by a combined effort, to crush out the name of Rome. Fortunately for the Imperial cause, the folly and the avarice of the Alamannic brethren brought about now that division of their forces which, in the case of Hannibal and Hasdrubal, was only accomplished by the desperately bold strategy of the consuls who conquered at the Metaurus. Leuthar was anxious to return to his barbarian home (perhaps somewhere in the Black Forest), and there store up in safety the spoils of Italy. Butilin, when he received his brother's message to this effect, refused to return, alleging the specious pretext of the alliance with the Goths, to which their oaths were plighted. The result was that Leuthar set forth on his northward march alone, intending, however, when he had safely housed his captives and his spoil, to return with an army to the help of his brother.

Leuthar's disaster at Fanum.

For some distance Leuthar and his army, though encumbered with spoil and captives, marched on in safety; but when they reached the Fane of Fortune[1], at the mouth of the Metaurus, disaster befell them. The Imperial generals, Artabanes and Uldac the Hun, were quartered in the little town of Pisaurum[2], about seven miles to the north of Fanum. When these generals saw the van of the Frankish host approaching and making their way with difficulty over the rocky

συχνὰ δὲ κύπελλα καὶ κανᾶ, καὶ ὅσα ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἁγιστείαις ἀνεῖται, ταῦτα ἀφαιρούμενοι, ἅπαντα οἰκεῖα κτήματα ἐποιοῦντο (Agathias, ii. 1).

[1] Fanum Fortunae, now Fano. See vol. iv. p. 300.

[2] Pesaro.

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headlands, they fell suddenly upon them, slew many with their swords, and forced the others to scramble down the steep and slippery sides of the cliff. The paths were so precipitous that a great number of the fugitives fell headlong into the Adriatic waves below. The few who did escape rushed back to Fanum and filled all the barbarian camp with their terrified shouts: 'The Romans are upon us.' Leuthar drew out his army in battle array, expecting an attack, but this the Imperial generals did not feel themselves strong enough to make. When, however, the soldiers, renouncing the thought of battle, returned to their quarters, they found that the greater number of their captives had taken advantage of the alarm to decamp, carrying with them no small part of the spoil.

Leuthar dies of the plague.

Fearing the Imperial armies stationed in the fortresses of the Adriatic, Leuthar and his men turned inland and pursued their march along the base of the Apennines[1]. At length they crossed the Po, and came into Venetia, which was now a recognised part of the Frankish kingdom. Here, at length, at Ceneda, under the shadow of the dolomites, the baneful career of Leuthar came to a fitting end. His army was attacked by a pestilence—the punishment, Agathias thinks, of their cruel and sacrilegious deeds. Some showed symptoms of fever, some of apoplexy, some of other forms of brain-disease, but, whatever form the sickness might assume, it was invariably fatal. The leader was attacked as well as his men, and in his case some of the symptoms seem to point

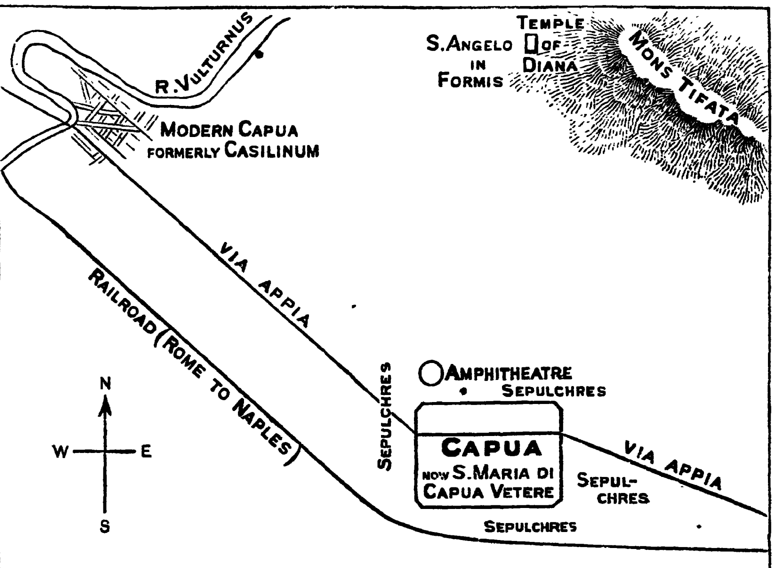
[1] Between the provinces of Aemilia and Alpes Cottiae, says Agathias, but this surely throws their line of march too much to the west.

BOOK VI. Ch. 1. 554. to delirium tremens. He rolled himself on the ground, uttering fearful cries; he tore the flesh of his own arms with his teeth; and then, like some savage beast, licked the flowing gore. Thus, in uttermost misery, he died—neither the first nor the last of the invaders upon whom the climate of Italy has taken a terrible revenge for her ravaged homesteads.

Butilin marches to the Vulturnus. We have seen how the debased copy of Hasdrubal suffered defeat by the Metaurus; now we have to mark the reverse which befell the other brother near the equally fatal Capua. The army of Butilin, like that of Leuthar, suffered grievously from pestilence. Summer had now ripened into autumn, and the barbarians, unable to procure wholesome food in their marches—the country having been wasted by order of the provident Narses—partook too freely of the fruit which they found in the orchards and of the must which they pressed for themselves out of abundant clusters of the grapes of Campania. Butilin, seeing that his forces were simply wasting away under the influence of disease, determined to strike a blow for Rome, while he still had something that could be called an army. With this view, he marched northward and fixed his camp on the banks of the Vulturnus [1], not far from Capua.

Topography of Capua. A word or two must be said as to the topography of this city, the capital of Campania, once the second city of Italy, and one which, in the days of the Second Punic War, nourished ambitious hopes of outstripping even Rome. The Capua of mediaeval and modern times, the Capua which gave its title to a prince of

[1] Agathias calls it 'the river Casulinum,' but I have not met with any other authority for this name of the Vulturnus.



CAPUA AND CASILINUM

(Ancient and Modern Capua)

Italy and her Invaders

To face page 37. *Vol. V*

the Royal Family of Naples, and which is surrounded by lunettes and bastions after the manner of Vauban, is situated close to the Vulturnus, on its left bank. This city, however, corresponds not to the Capua of Hannibal or of Narses, but to the little subject town of Casilinum. The older Capua[1] lay about three miles to the south-east, away from the river, in the midst of the fruitful Campanian plain, and of course upon the great Appian Way. It had two spacious squares,—the Albana, the centre of the political life of the city, which contained the senate house and the place of popular assembly, and the Seplasia, the great commercial centre, where men bought and sold the earthenware, the wine, the oil, and pre-eminently the precious ointments for which Capua was famous on all the shores of the Mediterranean. Just outside the town, at its north-west corner, was the great amphitheatre, built, or, at any rate restored, by Hadrian, with dimensions closely corresponding to those of the Colosseum at Rome, and capable of accommodating 60,000 spectators, but the present ruins of which are less than half the height of the ruins of its Roman rival. All round the town are the multitudinous graves, in which archaeologists have been excavating for a century, leaving many still unexplored. The earthenware vases and ornaments of bronze and gold found in these sepulchres, and bearing witness to the three civilisations—Etruscan, Samnite, Roman—whose influence has passed over Capua, are to be found in large numbers in the museums of England and Italy[2].

[1] Now represented by the little town of S. Maria di Capua Vetere.

[2] According to Beloch (p. 357) the systematic excavation of

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The city in old days abounded in temples, and one, the greatest of all, that of Diana, stood on the commanding eminence of Mount Tifata, some two or three miles to the north of Capua. The thick forests which surrounded it have long ago been felled; the substructures of the temple are still visible, but its pillars now (apparently) adorn the very interesting eleventh-century basilica of S. Angelo in Formis, which stands near the site of the ancient temple [1].

Butilin's preparations for defence.

In this neighbourhood then Butilin pitched his camp, but as he was close to the river he was probably nearer to Casilinum (the site of modern Capua) than to Capua Vetere. Though he had 30,000 men under him and the army of Narses numbered only 18,000, he entrenched himself like one in presence of an overwhelming danger. All round his camp, except at one narrow gateway, he planted the heavy waggons which had thus far accompanied his army [2]. To prevent the enemy from putting horses to these waggons and drawing them away, he ordered that they should be banked up with earth as high as the axles of the wheels, and the rude *agger*

these sepulchres was first undertaken by Sir William Hamilton, the British Minister at the Neapolitan Court in the year 1764. Some curious bronze tablets containing imprecations by the dead Capuan on his living foe have lately been found. Here is one which was discovered in 1866: Cn. Numidium Astragalum · illius vitam · valetudinem · quaistum · ipsumque uti tabescat morbus · C. Sextius Tabsimaelo rogo.

[1] For further details as to the very interesting history of Capua and the traces of the ancient city which may still be found, I must refer the reader to the admirable monograph of Julius Beloch (Campanien, Berlin, 1879).

[2] An indication that this Alamannic inroad was meant to be a migration as well as an invasion.

thus formed was further fortified with stakes. The river guarded his right flank, but in order to defend himself from an attack by way of the bridge he ordered a wooden tower to be erected, which he manned with some of the most warlike of his troops. Having made all these arrangements he waited for the arrival of the brother whom he was never again to behold.

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Battle of Capua.

Instead of Leuthar, Narses soon appeared upon the scene, having marched with all his army from Rome. Great was the excitement in both armies at the thought of the now imminent battle. Almost equally great was the excitement throughout the cities of Italy, at the prospect of the speedy decision of the question whether Justinian or Theudebald was to be their future lord. The engagement was hastened by an impulse of generous indignation. Narses could not bear to witness the Frankish ravage of the villages of Campania, and ordered Charanges the Armenian, a brave and war-wise officer, whose tents were pitched nearest to the foe, to chastise their presumption. The horsemen of Charanges easily overtook the creaking wains in which the Alamanni were carrying off the plunder of Campania, and slew their drivers. One of these waggons was filled with very dry hay, and by a happy inspiration Charanges ordered that it should be driven up close to the wooden bridge-tower and then set on fire. The fire caught, the garrison were obliged to evacuate the tower and rush to their comrades in the camp, and the bridge fell into the hands of the Romans. The mingled rage and terror which was thus engendered in the Frankish host compelled their generals to lead them forth to battle at once, though the day had been pronounced

BOOK VI. Ch. 1. 554. unlucky by the Alamannic soothsayers, who predicted, so we are told, that if Butilin fought on that day his troops would perish to a man.

The two armies which were now about to meet in deadly combat were strangely dissimilar in arms and equipments. The Franks were almost entirely infantry-soldiers: while Narses, like Belisarius[1], relied chiefly on his *Hippotoxotai*, the mounted archers whose Parthian tactics of flight and pursuit so often wrought deadly mischief to the heavy Teutonic hosts. Heavy-armed, however, the Franks and Alamanni were not. Few of them wore either helmet or breastplate, and trousers of linen or leather were the only covering of their legs. A sword hung at each man's thigh and a shield covered his left side. They had neither bows nor slings, but sent their two-edged axes hurtling through the air, and above all they wielded the terrible *ango* of which a description has already been given.

While the two armies were striding to the encounter, Narses performed a signal act of retributive justice, which seemed at first as if it would lose, but which eventually gained him the day. A certain Herulian nobleman among his *foederati* had, for some trifling neglect of duty, put one of his slaves to death with circumstances of savage cruelty. News of the crime was brought to Narses after he had mounted his horse for battle, but wheeling swiftly round he sought the murderer and charged him with the deed. The Herulian neither denied nor excused his offence, but stoutly maintained that in all that he had done

[1] See vol. iv. pp. 6 and 7.

he had acted within his rights as a master, and added that if his other slaves did not take warning by their comrade's fate he would mete out to them the same punishment. The cruelty and insolence of the man raised the indignation of Narses, who also felt, moreover, that to shed the blood of such a monster would be an offering acceptable in the sight of heaven. He therefore ordered his guardsmen to slay the Herulian, who at once received a fatal sword-thrust in his side. His countrymen murmured loudly. They hung back from the march, and it seemed as if they would desert on the very eve of battle. Narses, however, would not change his tactics for them. He relied on the protection of Divine Providence, but he also reckoned on the unwillingness of a warlike tribe like the Herulians to melt away from the field of battle, when that battle was even now almost joined.

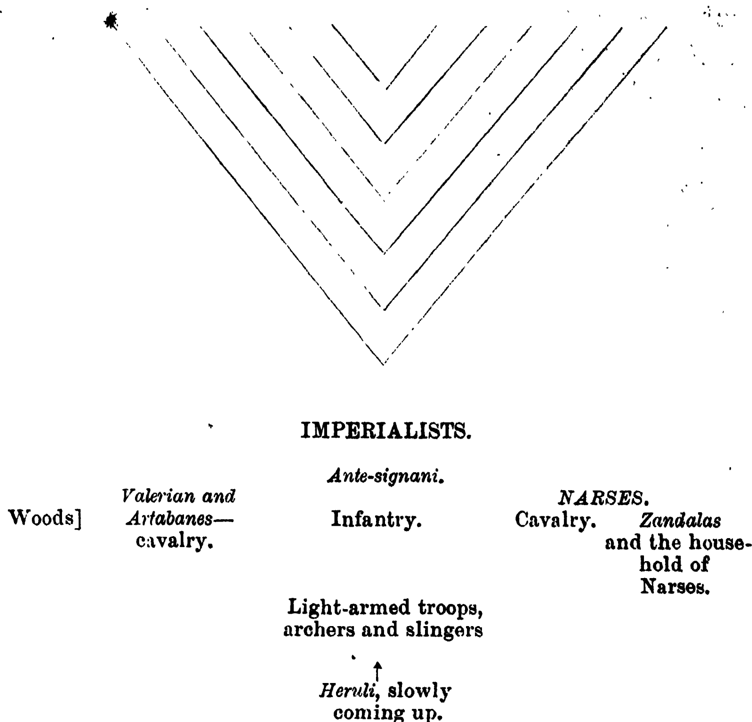
In arraying his troops for the combat, Narses repeated, perhaps not altogether of his own will, the tactics which had proved so successful in the battle of the Apennines. Again he left his centre weak and trusted to his flanks for victory. The barbarians on the other hand had formed themselves into a solid wedge shape, like a Greek *delta*, and meant to pierce the centre of the Imperial host and so to conquer. They were greatly stimulated to the encounter by the arrival of two deserters of the Herulian tribe, who assured Butilin that he would find the Imperial host all in confusion owing to the determination of the Herulians not to fight under the banners of the man who had slain their comrade.

The disposition of the two armies can be best explained by a diagram.

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FRANKS AND ALAMANNI.



In the van of the Roman host were the *Ante-signani*, picked troops, clothed in long coats of mail reaching down to their feet, and with stout helmets on their heads. Behind them stood the light-armed troops, the archers and slingers, but all this centre of the host was weak by reason of the tardy movements of the angry Herulians who should have formed its core of resistance. Narses himself with a strong body of *Hippotoxotai* formed the right wing of the army; and just behind him stood his Major-domo Zandalas with all the slaves in his warlike household that were apt in war, for the family of Narses, like that of his great rival Belisarius, seems to have been a complete nursery of soldiers. On the left wing,

partly resting on a dense wood and partly ambushed behind it, was another strong body of *Hippotoxotai* under Valerian and Artabanes. BOOK VI. CH. 1. 554.

The Frankish army came on with a wild cry and with all the dash and impetuosity of their nation. The *Ante-signani* were soon overpowered; the weak place in the centre of the line, where the Heruli should have been, but were not, was easily pierced: even the rear guard was scattered in flight, and the point of the attacking wedge was just touching the Imperial camp. But this apparently easy victory of the barbarians, if it had not been actually contrived by Narses, suited his plans exactly. Tranquilly he ordered his two wings to execute a manœuvre which enabled them to enfold the barbarian host as in a bag[1]. And now the over-confident Franks and Alamanni found themselves exposed to a destructive discharge of arrows aimed by invisible foes. For the orders given to the *Hippotoxotai* in each wing were to aim not at the breasts of the nearer but at the backs of the more distant enemies, and this they could easily do, because being on horseback they could see over the heads of the barbarian infantry. Thus the *Hippotoxotai* of Narses were raining their deadly

[1] The technical description of this manœuvre by Agathias is as follows: Ὁ Ναρσῆς *ἐπικάμψας ἠρέμα καὶ ὑπομηκύνας τὰ κέρα, καὶ ἐπικάμπιον ἐμπροσθίαν* (*ὡς ἂν τακτικοὶ ὀνομάσαιεν*) *τὴν φάλαγγα καταστήσας, κ.τ.λ.*

The manœuvre seems to be almost the same which Milton describes as executed by the fallen angels when they wished to listen to their chief:

'Whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all his peers.'—*Paradise Lost*, i. 616.

BOOK VI. CH. 1. 554. shower upon the backs of the men who were fighting with Valerian, and in like manner the *Hippotoxotai* of Valerian were mowing down from behind the antagonists of Narses. In both cases the custom of the barbarians to wear no armour for the back made the manœuvre more fatal. They could not see the foes by whose arrows they were falling, and even had they been able to confront them, the shorter range of their own missile weapons, the battle-axe and the *ango*, would have made the combat still unequal.

While this was going on in the broad part of the barbarian wedge, which was being rapidly thinned down as rank after rank fell under the back-piercing missiles of the Imperialists, the point of the wedge had also fallen into disaster. For now at last Sindual, king of the Heruli, with his tribesmen had appeared upon the field, to atone for the tardiness of his march by the ferocity of his onset upon the foe. The Franco-Alamannic van perceived that they had fallen into a trap, and rolled back in helpless disorder upon their beaten comrades. A few escaped and made for the river Vulturnus, but perished in its waters. The Roman infantry, both heavy and light-armed, closed in and completed the work of slaughter which had been begun by the *Hippotoxotai*. Soon, over all the battle-field were heard the groans of the dying barbarians. Butilin fell, the Herulian deserters who had fed him with such false hopes fell also. Undoubtedly the destruction of the Frankish host was complete, though we may refuse to give implicit belief to the statement of Agathias that only five men out of Butilin's 30,000 escaped to their own country.

The chief credit of so splendid a victory must un-

doubtedly be ascribed to Narses, that marvellous being who, after a lifetime spent in an emperor's dressing-room, emerged from an atmosphere of cosmetics and compliments to show himself 'a heaven-born general,' a perfect master of tactics and most fertile in resource when the hurly-burly of battle was loudest. But the barbarian chiefs whose strong arms had executed what Narses planned, were deemed also worthy of commendation: and of these the men who most distinguished themselves were Sindual the Herulian and Aligern, brother of Teias, the erewhile enemy of Rome[1].

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Demoralisation of the victors.

Great was the rejoicing in the Imperial host over the victory of Capua. Having buried their slain comrades and stripped the corpses of the foe, having swarmed over the waggon-rampart and plundered the Frankish camp, the soldiers marched to Rome, having their heads crowned with garlands and singing incessant paeans of victory. Quartered in Rome and deeming all the dangers and fatigues of war over for a lifetime, they began to abandon themselves to the sensual delights of a soldier's holiday. Here would you see one of the heroes of the late encounter who

[1] At the end of his description of the battle of Capua (which is vivid and clear) Agathias gives us some moral reflections about the victory, comparing it to Marathon, Salamis and Syracuse. He also quotes an epigram of six lines which some one told him was inscribed on a stone pyramid, erected on the banks of the Vulturnus. 'At least,' he says, 'whether that epigram be really engraved on stone, or whether it came to me in some other way through the songs of men, there is nothing to prevent my transcribing it here.' Evidently the epigram is really Agathias' own, and he means us to recognise it as his, and the talk about the stone pyramid is only a literary artifice. The epigram itself is vapid and not worth translating.

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had sold his helmet for a lyre, there a brother in arms who had parted with his shield for an *amphora* of wine. The general, however, soon perceived the growing demoralisation of his troops, and knowing too surely that all danger from the Franks was not at an end, he called them together and addressed them with grave and earnest words, blaming their over-confidence, beseeching them to show themselves Romans, superior to the arrogant elation and panic fears of the barbarians, expressing his belief that the Franks would ere long renew the war, and exhorting them, whether that were so or not, in no case to relax that warlike discipline which alone could ensure success in the hour of danger. The army heard with shame the reproofs of their great commander, and laying aside their careless and self-indulgent ways, 'returned,' says the historian, 'to the habits of their ancestors [1].' Those ancestors were of course supposed to be the men of Rome. It shows what magic yet lay in that mighty name, that this Armenian Eunuch, addressing his motley host of Huns, Heruli, Isaurians, Warni, could win them back from dissipation and self-indulgence by this single argument, 'They are unworthy of your Roman forefathers.'

555. Death of Theudebald. Succeeded by Chlotochar.

For the present, notwithstanding the forebodings of Narses, the land had rest from foreign invasion. The sickly child Theudebald, king of Austrasia, died in 555, and his great-uncle Chlotochar, who succeeded to his kingdom, showed no sign of wishing to renew the war for the possession of Italy. Only a little band of Goths, 7,000 in number, who had not, like Aligern, renounced the alliance with the Franks and entered

[1] Ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη μετεκοσμοῦντο. Agathias, ii. 12.

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The Goths still hold out in Campsa.

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the service of the Emperor, still held out in the little mountain fortress of Campsa [1]. Their leader was Ragnaris the Hun, a much-aspiring man, eager to earn notoriety by the arts of the demagogue [2], by which he stirred up the Goths to continue a hopeless resistance. The fortress of Campsa was strong and the nature of the ground made it impossible to take it by assault, and Narses was therefore compelled to resort to blockade, a tedious process, as the garrison were well provisioned, and a dangerous one, as they showed their resentment by frequent and not altogether unsuccessful sallies.

In this blockade of Campsa the winter months wore away. In early spring Ragnaris called for a parley, and the two chiefs, the courtly old Armenian and the upstart Hunnish adventurer, met under the castle walls. However, the tone of Ragnaris was so arrogant and his demands were so preposterous that Narses soon broke up the conference in wrath. As each party was returning to its quarters Ragnaris stealthily fitted an arrow to the string, turned suddenly round, and discharged it at the Eunuch. But the treacherous heart had ill inspired his aim: the arrow missed Narses and fell harmlessly to the ground. The body-guards of Narses, enraged at the felon deed, at once discharged their arrows at Ragnaris, who fell, having received a mortal wound. His followers carried him

[1] Which Muratori identifies with Conza, a little town among the Apennines about 50 miles east of Naples.

[2] Agathias says that Ragnaris was one of the so called Βίττυρες (Vittores), who were a Hunnish race; but we seem to have no further clue to their history. If Ragnaris were not a Hun, one would be inclined to look for some connection between his name and that of the Scandinavian Ragnar Lodbrok.

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into the fortress, where he died after two days of agony. On his death real negotiations for surrender were begun by the garrison, who stipulated only that their lives should be spared. Narses, whose careful fidelity and his plighted word on all occasions excited the wonder of a degenerate age, would not allow one of the Goths to be put to death, but in order to guard against future disturbance to the peace of Italy, sent them all to Constantinople. Here, though we are not expressly told anything of their further fortunes, we may well imagine that the tallest and most soldierlike men among them would be enlisted in the body-guards of the aged Justinian. Sixty-six years, or two generations of men, had passed away since Theodoric led his nation-army from Moesia into Italy, and now the last dwindled remnant of the Ostrogoths came back to dwell beside the Euxine of their forefathers and the Bosphorus of their unconquerable foe.

The war ended.

EARLY MEROVINGIAN KINGS.

A concubine ⊤ CLOVIS (Chlodovech), ⊤ CLOTILDA (Hrotchildis).
482–511.

THEODORIC I (King of METZ), 511–534. [son of the concubine]

CHLODOMIR (King of ORLEANS), 511–523.

CHILDEBERT (King of PARIS), 511–558.

CHLOTOCHAR (Lothair)* (King of SOISSONS), 511–561.

Son of Theodoric I:

Deuteria ⊤ THEUDEBERT, = Wisegard, daughter of Waccho, King of the Langobardi.
534–548.

Son of Theudebert and Deuteria:

THEUDEBALD, = Vuldetrada,
548–555. m. (2) Chlotochar I*, King of the Franks, (3) Garibald, Duke of the Bavarians.

CHAPTER II.

THE RULE OF NARSES.

Authorities.

Sources:—

Our chief sources for this period, and very scanty ones, are THEOPHANES, PAULUS DIACONUS (see next chapter), the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (Vita Pelagii), MARCELLINUS COMES, MARIUS AVENTICENSIS, and the so-called FREDEGARIUS. (All of these sources of information, except Paulus Diaconus, have been described in previous volumes.) BOOK VI. CH. 2.

OF the twelve years during which the Eunuch Narses bore sway in Italy, after the last of the Goths had been driven forth, we possess very scanty memorials. 555-567.

It was undoubtedly a time of general depression and misery. The fever of war was past, and the pain of the sore wounds which twenty years of bloodshed had inflicted upon Italy was felt now perhaps more bitterly than ever. All over the land, doubtless, were cities lying desolate; the chasms still left in their walls, where the Gothic battering-rams had pounded into them; long streets of burnt houses, where the fiery bolts from the catapult had carried the wasting flame. To repair these ruined cities seems to have been the chief work of the busy Eunuch, whose official title seems to have been 'the Patrician[1].' The great

Repair of the cities of Italy

[1] Neither Narses nor his immediate successor Longinus seems to have borne the title of Exarch. The precise period of the first introduction of this title will be discussed in a later chapter.

BOOK VI. Ch. 2.

city of Mediolanum, that Milan which has been more than once destroyed, and more than once has arisen in splendour from its ashes, felt especially the benefit of his restoring hand [1].

Justinian's 'Pragmatic Sanction.'

The great law-giving Emperor, too, contributed, after his manner, to the healing of the wounds of Italy. On the 13th of August, 554, he put forth a 'Pragmatic Sanction [2],' the object of which was to bring back social peace into the chaos left by the expulsion of the Ostrogoths. All the legislative acts of Theodoric and his family, down to Theodahad, were thereby confirmed: only those of Witigis and his successors (but even these covered a period of sixteen years) were treated as absolutely null and void [3].

Narses at Rome, assisting in the elevation of Pelagius to the Papal throne.

In the year 555, probably soon after his reduction of the Gothic stronghold of Campsa, Narses was called upon to take part in an ecclesiastical ceremony of an extraordinary kind, in connection with the newly consecrated Pope, Pelagius I. It will be remembered that, at the end of all his vacillations as to the miserable controversy of the 'Three Chapters,' Pope Vigilius submitted himself to the Emperor's will, but there was still considerable delay before he was suffered to depart from Constantinople. After the defeat of Totila, the assembled clergy of Rome sought

[1] So says Marius Aventicensis, a contemporary, who attributes to Narses 'Mediolanum vel reliquas civitates quas Gothi destruxerant laudabiliter reparatas.'

[2] Addressed to Antiochus, Praefect of Italy, who was, as we have seen, subordinate to Narses.

[3] The positive parts of this enactment, which showed some real desire on the part of the aged Emperor to ameliorate the condition of Italy, will be described in the next volume when the whole condition of Imperial Italy during the centuries of Lombard domination comes before us for review.

an audience with Narses, and, while congratulating him on the restoration of the Imperial rule, suggested (apparently) that the return of Vigilius, and of all the bishops who had gone into exile with him for their refusal to condemn the Three Chapters, would be a fitting acknowledgment of the Divine goodness which had thus blessed the arms of the Emperor[1]. Justinian, on receiving this message from Narses, caused the banished bishops to be gathered together from Egypt, from the island of Proconnesus, and from all the various places of their exile, and asked them whether they were willing to recognise Vigilius (now, it must be remembered, a condemner of the Three Chapters) as their pope, or whether they would prefer the archdeacon Pelagius, the only other candidate whom he would permit them to choose[2]. They replied with one accord, 'Restore to us Vigilius; let him be pope again, and when it shall please God to remove him from this world, then, with your consent, archdeacon Pelagius shall succeed him.'

Then all those bishops were allowed to depart from Constantinople, and, setting sail for Italy, they touched at Syracuse, where, as has been already related, Vigilius died, after suffering much agony from

[1] The extremely bald and obscure narration in the Liber Pontificalis does not distinctly state, but I think it suggests, that this was the tenor of the petition of the clergy.

[2] The Liber Pontificalis says 'Et mox misit jussiones suas per diversa loca, ubi fuerant in exilium deportati in Aegypto [*al.* Gypso] et Proconisso, et adduxit eos ante se Imperator, dicens eis: Vultis recipere [*al.* retinere] Vigilium, ut fuit [*al.* sit] Papa vester? Gratias ago. Minus ne hic habetis Archidiaconum vestrum Pelagium, et manus mea erit vobiscum.' The text is perhaps corrupt, but the meaning seems to be something like that given above.

BOOK VI. CH. 2. Jan. 7, 555. the cruel malady with which he was afflicted, and which, as his biographers thought, was itself caused by his mental misery[1].

April 13, 555. The archdeacon Pelagius, who was, in accordance with the declared wish of the Emperor, consecrated pope in the room of Vigilius, was the same whom we have seen bravely interceding for his fellow-citizens with the victorious Totila at the time of the siege of Rome[2]. At that critical time he seemed to bear himself like an upright citizen and a patriotic Roman, but there must have been something in his character which suggested to onlookers the idea of a disposition to selfish intrigue. Under the pontificate of Silverius, who had appointed him his *apocrisiarius* (nuncio) at the Court of Constantinople, he was thought to have caballed with Theodora against that pope[3]; and, under the pontificate of Vigilius, though he had followed that unhappy exile in all his waverings backwards and forwards about the Three Chapters, he was apparently suspected of having been all the while intriguing to supersede him, a suspicion to which the singular proposal of Justinian, which has just been quoted, seems to lend some probability. Now an even darker, and, it would seem, absolutely unjust suspicion of having in some way caused or hastened the death of Vigilius rested upon him. So nearly universal was the dislike and distrust with which he was regarded that only two bishops, John of Perugia and Bonus

[1] 'Et ex multa afflictione calculi dolorem habens, defunctus est Vigilius.' [2] See vol. iv. p. 559.

[3] So says Bower (History of the Popes, ii. 366), apparently on the authority of Liberatus (Breviarium xxiv): 'Illud liquere omnibus credo, per Pelagium diaconum et Theodorum Caesareae Cappadociae episcopum hoc scandalum in ecclesiam fuisse ingressum.'

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of Florence, could be found willing to consecrate him; and Andrew, a presbyter of Ostia, had to be joined with them in order to give the rite some semblance of canonical regularity. All the rest of the clergy, all the religious persons who filled the monasteries of Rome, all the more influential nobles of the city, shrank from communion with a man whom they openly accused of being responsible for the death of his predecessor [1].

In order to silence these calumnies and to reconcile the pontiff with the citizens of Rome, Narses and Pelagius together devised a striking ceremony. Starting from the Church of St. Pancratius on the Janiculan Hill, the two men, the chief of Italy and the chief of the Church, walked in solemn procession till they came to the great basilica of St. Peter. Up the long dim nave, lined with ninety-six columns taken from heathen temples, they proceeded till they came to the semicircular apse where, under the majestic figure of the Christ, displayed in mosaics on the vault, was placed the tomb of his boldest disciple. All the while that they were thus marching, Narses, Pelagius, and such of the priests as had been willing to join them, were chanting solemn litanies. Then Pelagius mounted the hexagonal pulpit or *ambo*, and, taking the Gospels in his hand and putting a cross upon his head, swore an awful oath that he had had neither part nor lot in the death of his predecessor. The earnest adjuration of

[1] 'Tunc non erant in clero, qui poterant eum promovere, quia et monasteria, et multitudo Religiosorum Sapientium et Nobilium [rather a singular expression] subduxerunt se a communione ejus, dicentes quia in morte Vigilii Papae se immiscuit, ut tantis poenis affligeretur.' (Lib. Pont. in vitâ Pelagii.) Perhaps this only means that he had helped to worry Vigilius to death, not that he was literally his murderer.

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the pontiff, made more impressive by the presence of the Patrician, who seems to have acted as a kind of compurgator of the accused man, appears to have satisfied the people[1]. Pelagius proceeded to deliver one of those exhortations against simony which were becoming, by reason of the need for them, almost a commonplace in the mouth of an ecclesiastical ruler, and took measures for the restoration to the Roman churches of the golden vessels of which they had been plundered. As far as we can tell, the deep distrust and suspicion of the new pontiff, which had hitherto prevailed, were now laid aside. The chief occupation of his short pontificate[2] was the endeavour to persuade the Western bishops that they might, without derogating from the authority of the Council of Chalcedon, accept the decree of the Council of Constantinople[3], condemn the Three Chapters, and anathematise the memory of the unfortunate Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret. In this labour, which was the price paid to the Emperor for his nomination to the pontificate, Pelagius was only partially successful, as we shall perceive in a later chapter, when we come to deal with the question of the Istrian schismatics. Though the period of the rule of Narses was generally peaceful, we still hear vaguely of conflicts with barbarian chiefs,

[1] 'Satisfecit cuncto populo et plebi' is the expression of the biographer, but this probably is only a technical expression for this kind of solemn asseveration.

[2] Pelagius I died March 4, 561, and was succeeded by John III, who presided over the see of Rome for thirteen years (July 17, 561—July 13, 574). No particular interest attaches to the career of this pope or that of his successor Benedict I (June 2, 575—July 31, 579). The chronology is that of the Abbé Duchesne.

[3] Fifth General Council.

the heavings of the ocean after the subsidence of the great storm of the Gothic war. A certain Aming, probably a Frankish chieftain, who had entered Italy in 539 with King Theudebert, returned or remained, and offered his assistance to a Gothic count, named Widin. They fell, however, before the victorious Eunuch. Aming was slain by the sword of Narses[1], and Widin was sent to Constantinople, whither so many captive barbarian chiefs had preceded him, all ministering to the pride of 'Justinianus Victor et Triumphator, semper Augustus[2].'

Revolt of Aming and Widin.

It may possibly have been in connection with this victory over Aming and Widin that, as we are told by Theophanes, 'letters of victory came from Rome, written by Narses the Patrician, announcing that he had taken two strong cities of the Goths, Verona and Brescia.' This event is placed by the chronicler in the year 563. It is hardly possible that such important cities can have been left untaken for ten years after the defeat of Totila, but either Widin the Gothic count, or some such champion of a lost cause, may have arisen and, collecting the scattered remnants of his countrymen, may have taken Verona and Brescia by surprise and held them for some time against the empire.

Verona and Brescia taken.

Two years later, Sindual, king of the Heruli, whom we last met with making a tardy but effectual charge on the army of Butilin, turned against Narses, from whom he had received many favours, and endeavoured

565. Revolt of Sindual the Herulian.

[1] 'Amingus . . . Narsetis gladio perimitur.' Paulus, ii. 2.

[[2] It seems to have been about this time that those parts of Northern Italy, which had been overrun by the Franks in 539–540, were now recovered. Marius s. a. 556 (?=557) says 'Eo anno exercitus Reipublicae resumptis viribus partem Italiae quam Theudebertus Rex adquisierat occupavit.']

BOOK VI. CH. 2. 565. to set up an independent barbarian sovereignty in Italy, or, as the Imperialist writers call it, to establish a 'tyranny.' Against him, too, the star of Narses prevailed. He was vanquished in war, taken prisoner, and hung from a lofty gallows [1].

Death of Belisarius. This same year (565) witnessed the passing away of two great actors in the drama of the reconquest
559. of Italy. Belisarius, who, after his last glorious cam-
562. paign against the Kotrigur Huns, had fallen into disgrace at court, being accused of complicity in a plot
July, 563. against Justinian, and had then, after eight months' obscuration, been restored to the imperial favour [2], enjoyed his recovered honours for something less than

[1] 'Bello superatum et captum celsa de trabe suspendit.' Paulus, Hist. Lang. ii. 3. The Liber Pontificalis also mentions the revolt of Sindual, as does Marius Aventicensis, who calls him Sindewala, and gives us the date 566, which should no doubt be corrected to 565, as all the dates of Marius at this time are a year too low. Marius calls the revolt a 'tyrannis.' We get the date of Sindual's revolt and the expression 'tyrannis' applied to it, from Marius. There is an interesting passage in Agathias (Hist. i. 20) showing how popular election co-operated with Imperial selection in the succession to these camp-royalties of the barbarians. On the death of Phulcaris (553) 'there were two men in the Herulian host of equal valour and renown, and the favour of the multitude was divided between them. For some of them set most store by Aruth, and thought that all would go well if he were their leader; while others preferred Sindual, a man of commanding energy and well practised in warlike affairs. Narses then, throwing his weight into the scale of this latter party, set Sindual over the Heruli as general and gave them their orders as to the selection of winter quarters.'

Paulus calls Sindual king of the Brenti, by which name Waitz understands the Breones of the Brenner Pass; and at the same time he makes him one of the stock of Heruli who had come into Italy with Odovacar. Neither statement seems to me to be of much ethnological value.

[2] See vol. iv. pp. 596–602.

two years, and died in the month of March, 565. Of him, as of Wolsey, might the words be used, BOOK VI. CH. 2. 565.

'An old man, broken with the storms of state,'

and yet, like Wolsey, he had not reached extreme old age, since, forty years before, he was still spoken of as in early youth [1].

Eight months after Belisarius died his even more famous master. For thirty-eight years Justinian had governed the Roman world, filling a larger space in the eyes of men than any ruler since Theodosius, if not than any ruler since Constantine. He had restored much of the splendour of the Roman name, had re-united Rome and Carthage to the Empire, and had even displayed his victorious eagles on the coast of Spain. He had been an indefatigable student of theology, had called a General Council, and imposed the dogma which was the fruit of his midnight studies upon the conscience of a resisting pope. Above all, he had evoked from the chaos in which the laws of Rome had been tossing for centuries an orderly and harmonious system, which was to make the influence of Roman Law thenceforward coeval and conterminous with European civilisation and with all that later civilisation which, springing from it, was to overspread four continents. But there was a reverse to this brilliant picture on which perhaps sufficient emphasis has been laid in previous volumes of this book. The conquests of Justinian were not enduring. The financial exhaustion which was the result of his showy and extravagant policy left the provinces weak and anaemic, unable to

Death of Justinian. Nov. 14, 565.

[1] Νεανίας καὶ πρῶτος ὑπηνήτης (in 526). Procopius, de Bello Persico, i. 12. Wolsey was only fifty-eight at the period referred to in the above quotation.

BOOK VI. CH. 2. resist the new forces which were about to be hurled upon them from the deserts of Arabia. The theological activity of the Emperor alienated many of his subjects, both in the East and West, and probably facilitated the conquests of Mohammed. Nor did even the Emperor's own theology, in the later years of his life, escape the charge of heretical error[1].

Accession of Justin II.

But were it good or bad, the work of Justinian was done and a new lord looked forth from the windows of the Anactoron, over the wide Propontis and the beautiful Horn of Gold. That lord was Justin the Second, a nephew of Justinian, who had consolidated his position at Court, and secured his succession to the throne by marrying Sophia, niece of the once all-powerful Theodora. In spite of the praises of the courtly poet, Corippus—who sought to re-awaken the lyre of Claudian and to sing the praises of Justin and his African general John, as the earlier poet had sung the praises of Honorius and Stilicho—the new Emperor was a narrow, small-minded man, just the kind of

[1] I allude of course to the charge (chiefly based on the authority of the ecclesiastical historian Evagrius) that at the very end of his reign Justinian fell into the error of Apthartodocetism, teaching that the body of Christ was not subject to death or natural decay and thus venturing perilously near to the borders of Monophysitism if not actually passing them. An anonymous correspondent of the 'Guardian' (W. H. H., August 12, 1891) pleads earnestly and skilfully for the removal of this blot on Justinian's fame; but after all, even on his statement, all the authorities, even the contemporary authorities, appear to be on one side, with only general improbability and previous good character on the other: and in such a case are we not bound to follow the authorities? The improbable is that which is constantly occurring, and great men at the end of their lives, with failing brain and weakened will, often contradict, in the most wonderful way, the whole of their previous career.

person who was likely to emerge, safe and successful, from the intrigues of a court like Justinian's, but not the man to guide aright the destinies of a mighty Empire. Moreover, when he had been eight years upon the throne the symptoms of a diseased brain were so manifest that it was necessary to provide him with a colleague, who was in fact a regent: and it is probable enough that even at the time of his accession he showed some deficiency of mental power. Whatever the cause, the result seems clear, that in the earlier years of the reign, Sophia, not Justin, was the true ruler of the Empire, and that this Empress, who possessed the ambition of Theodora without her genius[1], governed feebly and unwisely, cutting away a branch here and there of the more unpopular parts of Justinian's administration, but neither resolutely upholding nor broadly remodelling the system which he had inaugurated.

Recall of Narses.

It was, no doubt, in accordance with this general plan of change without reform that the Imperial pair decided on the recall of Narses. The popularity which the Patrician had won by the re-conquest of Italy he had lost by his ten years' government of the peninsula, but whether justly or unjustly lost, who shall say? The full weight of the misery caused by a prolonged war is often not felt till the war is over, when the fever of fighting is followed by the collapse of bankruptcy and famine. This was the experience of our fathers in the decade which followed Waterloo, and it may well have been the experience of the Italians during the years which intervened between Totila and Alboin.

[1] These are the words of Mr. Bury (ii. 71), from whom I derive most of my impressions of the characters of Justin and Sophia.

BOOK VI. CH. 2. Over such an emaciated and exhausted country Narses had to rule, squeezing out of it by his *rationales* and his *logothetae* the solidi which were to be transmitted to Constantinople—a miserable dividend (if so modern a comparison may be allowed) on the vast sums which Justinian had disbursed for the re-conquest of Italy.

But did Narses plunder for his own private account as well as to fill the coffers of his master? That is the more or less open accusation of the later chroniclers, but though it is quite impossible now either to prove or disprove it, the charge does not altogether correspond with what we hear elsewhere of the character of Narses. Ambition rather than avarice seems to have been the master-passion of his soul, and he is represented as a free-handed and generous rewarder of the men who served him well.

But we have had enough of conjecture. Let us listen to the statement, poor and meagre as it is, given us by the Papal biographer[1], of the events which led up to the recall of Narses.

566 (?). 'Then the Romans, influenced by envy, sent representations to Justin[2] and Sophia, that it would be more expedient for the Romans to serve the Goths than the Greeks. "Where Narses the Eunuch rules," said they, "he makes us subject to slavery. And the most devout Prince is ignorant of this. Either, therefore, free us and the City of Rome from his hand, or else we will

[1] The Abbé Duchesne, in the very thorough analysis of the sources of the Liber Pontificalis prefixed to his edition of that book, assigns the composition of the life of Pope John III to the period of Pelagius II (579–590). It is virtually, therefore, the work of a contemporary.

[2] 'Justiniano' in the text.

assuredly become servants of the barbarians[1].” Which, when Narses heard, he said “If I have done evil to the Romans I shall find myself in evil plight[2].” Then going forth from Rome he came to Campania and wrote to the nation of the Langobardi that they should come and take possession of Italy.’

Narses' alleged invitation to the Lombards to invade Italy.

By the last sentence of this extract we are brought face to face with the accusation which is the heaviest charge that has been made against the character of Narses, the accusation that he, in revenge for his recall, invited the Lombard invaders into Italy. It is easy to show how slight is the basis of trustworthy evidence on which this accusation rests; but in order to show what the accusation is, it will be well to quote it in the fully developed and dramatic form which it assumed, two centuries after the event, in the pages of Paulus Diaconus, the great historian of the Lombard people. After copying the passage just quoted, from the Papal biographer, Paulus proceeds:

Story of the Empress's insulting message to Narses.

‘Then the august Emperor was so greatly moved with anger against Narses that he immediately sent Longinus the praefect into Italy that he might take the place of Narses. But Narses, when he knew these things, was much afraid, and so much was he terrified by the same august Sophia that he did not dare to return to Constantinople[3]. To whom, among other [insults], she is said to have sent a message that, as he was an eunuch, she would make him portion out the

[1] ‘Aut libera nos de manu ejus et civitatem Romanam aut certe nos gentibus deserviemus.’ Liber Pontificalis, lxiii: Joannes III.

[2] ‘Si male feci Romanis, male inveniam.’ Any translation must be somewhat conjectural.

[3] ‘Ut regredi ultra [?] Constantinopolim non auderet.’

BOOK VI. CH. 2. 566.

days' tasks of wool-work to the girls in the women's apartment[1]. To which words Narses is said to have given this answer, that he would spin her such a hank that she should not be able to lay it down so long as she lived[2]. Therefore, being racked by fear and hatred, he departed to Naples, and soon sent ambassadors to the nation of the Langobardi, telling them to leave the poverty-stricken fields of Pannonia and come to possess Italy, teeming as it was with all sorts of wealth. At the same time he sent many kinds of fruit and samples of other produce in which Italy abounds, that he might tempt their souls to the journey. The Langobardi received with satisfaction the glad tidings, which corresponded with their own previous desires, and lifted up their hearts at the thought of their future prosperity.'

Improbability of the story.

Such is, as I have said, the fully-developed story, and that which has succeeded in inscribing itself on the page of history. It contains some obvious improbabilities. The Langobardi, the flower of whose nation had served in Italy only fifteen years before, certainly needed no elaborate information as to the fruits and produce of that country. It would be strange, too,

[1] 'Cui illa inter cetera, qui eunuchus erat, haec fertur mandasse, ut eum puellis in gynaecio lanarum faceret pensa dividere.' In the history of Fredegarius, from which Paulus appears to have borrowed this story, the Augusta sends him 'a golden instrument used by women with which he might spin,' in other words a golden distaff, and tells him that he may henceforward rule over wool-workers, not over nations (iii. 65).

[2] 'Talem se eidem telam orditurum, qualem ipsa dum viveret deponere non possit.' Or, even more dramatically in Fredegarius: 'I will spin a thread of which neither the Emperor Justin nor the Augusta shall be able to find the end' ('Filum filabo de quo Justinus imperator nec Augusta ad caput venire non possent').

though not impossible, if, just before sending so traitorous a message, Narses went southward from Ravenna to Náples, thereby at once adding to the labours of his messengers and lessening his own chances of deliverance from punishment by the hosts of the invading barbarians.

But, moreover, if we trace the tale backwards through the centuries, we shall find, as is so often the case, that the nearer we get to the date of the events, the less do the narrators know of these secret motives which are so freely imputed, and these dialogues of great personages which are so dramatically described. Paulus Diaconus wrote, as has been already said, about the middle of the eighth century. The chronicler, who is incorrectly quoted as 'Fredegarius' (who wrote about 642, and perhaps put the finishing touches to his history in 658), tells the story in nearly the same words, but, while he gives us the golden distaff, he takes away the fruits and other vegetable products. We then come back to the Spanish bishop, Isidore of Seville, who wrote a chronicle coming down to 615. He simply says, 'Narses the Patrician, after he had, under Justinianus Augustus, overcome Totila, king of the Goths in Italy, being terrified by the threats of Sophia Augusta, the wife of Justin, invited the Langobardi from Pannonia, and introduced them into Italy.' This sentence, written probably about fifty years after the recall of Narses, is, after the notice already quoted from the Papal biographer, the strongest support of the charge that Narses invited the Lombards into Italy. And if we accept, as we seem bound to do, the early date of the 'Papal Life,' we shall feel compelled to admit that there was a belief among his

contemporaries that Narses had, at the end of his life, proved disloyal to the Empire. Only, remembering the parallel case of Stilicho, we shall be careful to distinguish between popular suspicion and judicial evidence of such a crime[1].

Our two best contemporary authorities[2] are Marius of Aventicum and Gregory of Tours, both of whom died (having passed middle age) in or about the year 594. They are, therefore, strictly contemporary authorities for the events of 567. Neither of them makes any mention of Narses' invitation to the Lombards, though the former describes the recall of Narses (with some suppressed indignation at such a reward to so meritorious a servant of the Emperor), and both notice the entry of Alboin and the Lombards into Italy. Equally silent on the subject are the so-called Annals of Ravenna[3], though the ecclesiastical chronicler, writing in that Imperial capital, was just the person who would have been likely to utter the shrillest notes of execration at so signal an act of treachery by the Patrician towards the Empire.

Upon the whole, then, we conclude that there is hardly sufficient evidence for the far-famed vengeance of the Eunuch on the Empress. His recall, which took place in the year 567[4], was, probably enough, due to the advice of the ambitious and meddlesome

[1] Prosperi Continuatio Havniensis, which was composed about 625, tells the same story, but is evidently quoting from Isidore and therefore does not add another authority.

[2] The Chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis ends in 565 and that of Marcellinus Comes in 558.

[3] Excerptum Sangallense.

[4] Given as 568 by Marius Aventicensis, all his dates at this period being a year too low.

Augusta, and it is in the highest degree likely that the removal of such a man from Ravenna, who had been not only the recoverer of Italy in war, but for twelve years the mainspring of the administrative machine in peace, may have led to a certain amount of confusion and disturbance, during which the barbarians on the north-eastern frontier perceived that their time had come to re-enter the beautiful land which they had so unwillingly quitted in 552, when Narses informed them that he had no further occasion for their services.

BOOK VI. CH. 2.

Later history of Narses.

Of the later history of the great Eunuch-Patrician we have scarcely any trustworthy details. The 'Liber Pontificalis,' which, as we have seen, repeats the slander as to the invocation of the Lombards, goes on to describe a mysterious interview between Pope John III and Narses. 'The pope goes in haste to Naples, and asks the ex-governor to return to Rome. Narses says, "Tell me, most holy Pope, what mischief have I done to the Romans? I will go to the feet of him that sent me [the Emperor], that all Italy may know how I have laboured in its behalf." The pope answered, "I will go more quickly than thou canst return from this land." Therefore Narses returned to Rome with the most holy Pope John, and, after a considerable time, he died there; whose body was placed in a leaden chest, and all his riches were brought back to Constantinople. At the same time Pope John died also.'

If this note of time is to be relied upon, the death of Narses must have happened about 573, or perhaps a year or two earlier; and, upon the whole, this seems to be the conclusion to which most of the authorities

BOOK VI. CH. 2.

point: that he died in Rome early in the eighth decade of the sixth century. The statements as to his return to Constantinople and recovery of the favour of the Emperor probably proceed from a confusion between him and another Narses, who, thirty years later, was one of the bravest of the Imperial generals on the Persian frontier.

Legend as to the wealth of Narses.

The vast wealth of the Eunuch was perhaps simply confiscated by the Imperial treasury, but in the next generation the following story concerning it reached the ears of Gregory of Tours. Tiberius II (who, as we shall see, was first the colleague and then the successor of Justin II) was a man of generous disposition, and was frequently rebuked for this by his patroness, the Empress Sophia, who declared that he would bring the Imperial treasury to ruin. 'What I,' said she, 'have been many years in collecting, thou wilt disperse in a very short time.' Then he said, 'Our treasury will be none the poorer, but the poor must receive alms and the captives must be redeemed. Herein will be great treasure according to that saying of the Lord, "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal."' 'Now Narses, that great Duke of Italy, who had had his palace in a certain city, went forth from Italy with a mighty treasure and came to the aforesaid city of Constantinople, and there, in a secret place in his house, he dug out great cisterns in which he stored up many hundred thousand pounds weight of gold and silver. Then, having slain all who were privy to his plans, he confided the secret of the hoard to one old man, under a solemn oath that he would reveal it

to no man. On the death of Narses these treasures lay concealed under the earth. But when the aforesaid old man saw the daily charities of Tiberius, he went to him, and said, "If it may profit me, O Caesar, I can reveal to thee a great matter." "Say on, what thou wilt," answered Tiberius. "I have the secret of the hoard of Narses," said he, "and, being now at the extreme verge of life, I can conceal it no longer." Then Tiberius Caesar, being filled with joy, sent some servants, who followed the old man to the place with great astonishment. Having arrived at the cistern, they opened it, and entered within, and found there so great a quantity of gold and silver that it was hardly emptied after many days, though men were carrying it away continually. And after this, the Caesar went on more blithely than before, distributing money to the needy.' BOOK VI. CH. 2.

So vanishes from history the mysterious figure of the great Eunuch-general.

CHAPTER III.

THE LANGOBARDIC FOREWORLD.

Authorities.

Sources:—

Our chief authority for this chapter, as for almost the whole history of the Lombards, will be PAULUS DIACONUS, but as he, in this portion of his history, rests upon two other earlier authorities, one of which is still preserved, while the other has perished, it will be well, first of all, to give an account of these.

I. The ORIGO GENTIS LANGOBARDORUM is nearly the earliest document that we have relating to the history of the Langobardi, and is found prefixed to some MSS. of the laws of king Rothari. This king reigned from 636 to 652, and was, as we shall hereafter see, the first to reduce the customary laws of the Lombards into a code. To this code a short prologue was prefixed, ending with a list of seventeen kings from Agilmund to Rothari. This somewhat meagre list is our absolutely earliest document. But for some reason or other a much fuller preface, apparently composed about the year 668[1] or 669, in the seventh year of king Grimwald, was prefixed to several copies of the Edict of Rothari. This document, which is much fuller than the Prologue, and which gives some of the national *sagas* in considerable detail, is the celebrated *Origo Gentis Langobardicae*, and was evidently made much use of by Paulus[2]. It will be observed

[1] This is the date assigned by Dr. R. Jacobi in his 'Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus,' p. 9. Waitz in his note (Monumenta, p. 1) speaks with some hesitation.

[2] Paulus seems to have taken the Origo for 'Rothari's own prologus' (though I do not think this is yet quite proved). The whole subject of the relation of what we may call Grimwald's 'Origo' to Rothari's 'prologus' seems to me somewhat obscure.

that the date of its composition is very nearly a century after the descent of the Lombards into Italy [1]. BOOK VI. CH. 8.

A similar document is the CODEX GOTHANUS. To one MS. of the Lombard laws, that now preserved in the Ducal library at Gotha, there is prefixed an introduction on the history of the Lombards which evidently shows a certain affinity to the Origo [2], but is of later date, and contains some curious additions as to the early migrations of the race. It continues the history down to the time of Charles the Great, and was probably written under his son Pippin (807–810). The author is a strongly pronounced Christian, and loves to support his statements by quotations from Scripture. He is, however, very imperfectly informed as to early Lombard history; he wrote, as will be seen, 250 years after the invasion, and it does not seem wise to place much dependence on his statements where they differ from those of the Origo [3]. In order to give an idea of the author's style, I give a translation of his opening and closing sections in the note at the end of this chapter.

It will be seen that it was impossible that Paulus could have borrowed from the Codex Gothanus, nor does the author of that document appear to have borrowed from him.

II. The other authority to which I alluded, and which has unfortunately perished, is the 'De Langobardorum Gestis' of SECUNDUS, Bishop of Trient [4]. To this last work Paulus alludes in the two following passages. 'So great a slaughter was made'

[1] The Origo as well as the Codex Gothanus which I am about to describe are published in the volume of Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum in the Monum.. Germ. Historica. Waitz is the editor, and may be considered to have finally settled the text. There are three MSS., the Madrid, the La Cava, and the Modena. Waitz prefers the Madrid to the Modena MS. on which some previous editors had relied.

[2] Especially to the Modena MS. of it.

[3] This is the criticism, the sound criticism as it seems to me, of Waitz on Dr. Friedrich Bluhme (note on p. 7, M. G. H. Script. Rer. Lang. et Ital.).

[[4] I have followed the example of Muratori, Waitz, and other scholars, in calling Secundus Bishop of Trient; but S. Malfatti (in the 'Archivio Storico per Trieste,' ii. 290) asserts that it has been proved by Bonelli that Secundus was Abbot, not Bishop.]

BOOK VI. CH. 8.

(by king Anthari in 588) 'of the army of the Franks as is not recorded in any other place. It is certainly marvellous why Secundus, who wrote something concerning the deeds of the Lombards, should have omitted this great victory of theirs, when we have quoted what has been already said concerning the destruction of the Franks, almost in the very words of their own historian [Gregory of Tours][1].'

'In the month of March (612) there died at Trient, Secundus, servant of Christ, of whom we have often spoken, and who composed a succinct little history concerning the acts of the Lombards down to his own times' (qui usque ad sua tempora succinctam de Langobardorum gestis composuit historiolam)[2].

Paulus also informs us that (in the year 603) Adalwald, son of king Agilulf, was baptized at Monza 'and was lifted from the font by Secundus, the servant of Christ, of whom we have often made mention[3].'

Evidently the work of such a man, bishop of one of the frontier towns of the Lombard kingdom, who had himself, as a young ecclesiastic[4], witnessed the furious in-rush of the barbarians and who had, in the next generation, stood sponsor to the son of their king, would have been of extreme value to an inquirer into the early history of the race. It has now perished, all but one doubtful fragment, but much survives in the history of Paulus, whose exceptionally full account of the affairs of Trient and its neighbourhood is probably due to this source.

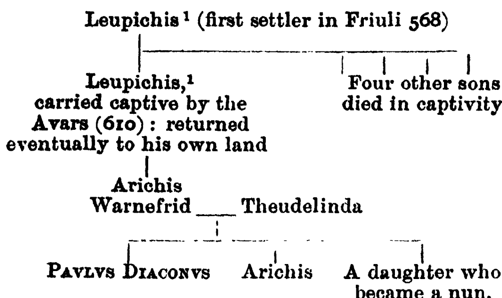
PAULUS DIACONUS (sometimes called Paul Warnefrid, from the name of his father, or Paulus Levita, which is equivalent to Diaconus[5]) was the descendant of a certain Leupichis who settled in the duchy of Friuli at the time of the Lombard invasion of Italy. The captivity which his sons suffered in the land of the Avars, and the return of one of them also named Leupichis to his own land, will be related in the course of this history. This

[1] H. L. iii. 29. [2] H. L. iv. 40. [3] H. L. iv. 27.

[4] Bethmann has shown (Archiv, x. 350, 351) that Secundus first became an ecclesiastic about the year 565. He was therefore at least seventy years of age at his death in 612.

[5] Because the Levites bore, presumably, to the descendants of Aaron the same relation which the deacons bore to the Christian priests.

second Leupichis was the great-grandfather of our historian, whose other relations are exhibited in the following table:— BOOK VI. CH. 3.



We have no certain information as to the year of the birth of Paulus, but he was probably born about 725, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Friuli or Aquileia. He received an education which, for that age and country, was unusually good, and which included some knowledge of Greek. He mentions [2] the name of a certain Flavian as his teacher: and as he informs us that Felix, the uncle of this Flavian, was in high favour with king Cunincpert (688–700) as a teacher of grammar [3], it is conjectured, with some little probability, that Flavian may also have been attached to the royal household at Pavia, and that Paulus may have resorted thither in order to complete his education. We know from his own statement, that he was present in the palace at Pavia on a day of festival, and saw the cup which Alboin caused to be made out of the skull of Cunimund, and which king Ratchis held in his hand and exhibited to his guests [4]. As king Ratchis reigned from 744 to 749, it is clear that Paulus must have sat in his banqueting-hall while he was still in early manhood, but whether as a courtier's son, as a student in some sort of primordial college attached to the royal palace, or in any other capacity, it is quite impossible to say. There are some

[1 Also spelt Leupchis and Lopichis.]

2 H. L. vi. 7.

3 'Among other proofs of his generosity the king presented Felix with a stick adorned with gold and silver.'

4 'Ego hoc poculum vidi in quodam die festo Ratchis principem ut illud convivis suis ostentaret manu tenentem (H. L. ii. 28).'

BOOK VI. Ch. 8. slight indications that he was of sufficiently good birth to entitle him to be received as a guest at the king's table.

In the year 749 King Ratchis abdicated the Lombard throne, and retired to the far-famed monastery of St. Benedict at Monte Casino. Thither also Paulus followed him, but at what date it is impossible to say. It is not an impossible conjecture[1] that the young courtier may have entered the monastery at the same time as his abdicating king: but there is also something to be said for the theory[2] that he retired thither twenty-six years later (in 775), when he had lost his country, his patron and his friends, through the capture of Pavia by the armies of Charles the Great. The objections to this theory are that it leaves a large space of his life unaccounted for; that the spirit which breathes through all his works is monastic rather than secular, and that for the literary labours which will shortly be described a monastery was at that time the most fitting environment. But whatever might be the precise date of his retirement into the cloister, there can be no doubt that he entered upon his new duties with enthusiasm. Saint Benedict became henceforward his ideal of human greatness. He sang his miracles, he preached a sermon on his life: though he might be sojourning in the palaces of kings, he sighed for a return to his beloved Monte Casino, and implored the abbot and the brethren to put up their prayers to 'our most blessed common father and preceptor Benedict,' that by his merits he might obtain from Christ the favour of a speedy restoration to the convent.

About this period of the life of Paulus he was brought, we know not how, into intimate relations with Arichis II, duke of Benevento, and his wife Adelperga, daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius. Arichis was connected by marriage and perhaps by birth with the dukes of Friuli, and was therefore in some sort a fellow-countryman of Paulus, but he was also the ruler of the land in which Monte Casino was situated, and it is easy to imagine a train of events which may have brought him into connexion with a distinguished inmate of the greatest and most famous monastery in his dominions. At any rate so it was; and Paulus, whether monk or citizen, became the chief literary

[1] Cf. Waitz in his preface to the H. L. p. 14.

[2] Cf. Dahn (Paulus Diaconus, 23).

adviser of the princely couple, and especially of the wife, the gentle and accomplished Adelperga. She had already, so he says, like her husband, 'with subtle intellect and most sagacious study explored the secrets of the wise, so that the golden sayings of philosophers and the jewels of the poets were all familiar to her:' but now she desired to be guided by him in her researches into history. He composed for her a little poem in thirty-six trochaic lines, which might help her to remember the dates of the leading events in the history of the world. He thus fixed the date of the Deluge at 2,242 after the Creation, and the birth of Christ at 5,199 after the same event. The years which had elapsed from the birth of Christ to the composition of the poem were 763: and we thus, at last, get a fixed point in the historian's life, from this the earliest of his undoubted works which has come down to us. The stanzas of this little poem [1], each consisting of three lines, were so arranged as to form an acrostic 'Adelperga Pia.'

In order to satisfy the thirst of the princess for historical knowledge, Paulus had, with a certain air of triumph [2], presented her with the history of Eutropius. The lady complained, however (as generations of younger and involuntary students have since complained), that she found Eutropius dry and meagre. Moreover, he brought down his narrative only as far as the death of Jovian: and, above all, 'being a heathen, he made no mention of divine history or of the Christian faith.' In order to remedy these defects, Paulus edited the ten books of Eutropius, expanding the narrative in places, introducing some events 'from the divine law' at suitable intervals of time, and everywhere rendering the story harmonious with sacred history [3]. Having done this, he added six books of his own, bringing

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[1] Printed in the Monumenta (u. s. p. 13).

[2] 'Ipse qui elegantiae tuae studiis semper fautor extiti, legendam tibi Eutropii historiam *tripudians* obtuli' (Ep. Pauli ad Adelpergam).

[3] 'Ac primum paulo superius ab ejusdem textu historiae narrationem capiens, eamque pro loci merito extendens, quaedam etiam temporibus ejus congruentia ex divina lege interserens, eandem sacratissimae historiae consonam reddidi' (Ep. ad Adelpergam).

BOOK VI. Ch. 3.

down the history to the times of Justinian. This history, thus modified and continued, is that which has been so often quoted in previous volumes under the name of the *Historia Miscella*.

There can be little doubt that it was this labour of Paulus at the *Historia Romana* which suggested to him the work which rendered his name famous, the *Historia Langobardorum*.

Not yet, however, was Paulus to be left in the quiet seclusion of his cell to accomplish this great work. In the year 773 the long dreaded war between Charles the Great and the Lombard king Desiderius broke out. Pavia, after a long siege, succumbed, more to pestilence than the sword. Desiderius and his family were carried into captivity, and Charles the king of the Franks became also king of the Lombards. In the fall of the Lombard kingdom—though his patrons the Duke and Duchess of Benevento were still unsubdued—Paulus, or at any rate his family, seems to have been in some way involved. His brother Arichis (probably the sole heir of the family estates, after Paulus had 'entered into religion') was carried captive, doubtless into the country of the Franks, and languished there in prison and in exile for fully six years. His wife, according to the (perhaps exaggerated) statement of Paulus, was compelled to beg through the streets, in order to obtain food and clothing for her four little ones. The sister in her convent well-nigh lost her eyesight through weeping. The family goods were plundered: the family lands passed into the hands of strangers, and Paulus—notwithstanding his own monastic seclusion—felt that he was sinking down with his family into the condition of slaves[1]. It was apparently in order to obtain the release of his

[1] These details are taken from Paulus, 'Carmen ad Karolum regem pro fratre captivo.'

'Septimus annus adest, ex quo nova causa dolores
Multiplices generat, et mea corda quatit.
Captivus vestris ex tunc germanus in oris
Est meus, afflicto pectore nudus, egens.
Illius in patriâ conjunx miseranda per omnes
Mendicat plateas ore tremente cibos.
Quattuor hac turpi natos sustentat ab arte
Quos vix pannuciis praevalet illa tegi.
Est mihi quae primis Christo sacrata sub annis
Excubat egregia simplicitate soror.

brother, and to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his family, that Paulus about the year 782 crossed the Alps, and presented himself at the court of the great Frankish king. We are not expressly informed that his petition was granted, but, from the relations which afterwards existed between Paulus and his royal patron, there can be no reasonable doubt that this was the case. For Charles, who, though himself not highly educated, was earnestly desirous to promote the revival of learning throughout his dominions, soon perceived that this Lombard monk was one of the most fitting instruments that he could employ in such a work. Unfortunately, here as elsewhere throughout the life of Paulus, precise details are wanting, and we are not authorised to assert that he filled any distinctly educational office at the Austrasian court; but, from the few fragments of correspondence between the king and the deacon which are preserved, it is evident that Charles set a very high value on the attainments of Paulus, retained him near his person as long as possible, and listened to his advice on all questions of a literary nature, with deference and respect. In fact, the relation between the two men greatly resembles that which existed towards the close of the fifteenth century between the Italian despots and their literary subjects, the Politians and the Poggios of their day: nor is the comparison an unnatural one, for the age of Charles the Great was a veritable Renaissance of the learning and culture of a buried civilisation. In one of the amusing *jeux d'esprit* which flew backwards and forwards between the king and his favourite, a grammarian named Peter, who acted as Charles's literary fag, compliments Paulus in high-flown terms on his literary eminence, comparing him to Horace,

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Haec sub sorte pari luctum sine fine retentans,
  Privata est oculis jam prope flendo suis.
Quantulacumque fuit, direpta est nostra supellex,
  Nec est heu miseris qui ferat ullus opem.
Conjunx est fratris rebus exclusa paternis;
  Jamque sumus servis rusticitate pares.
Nobilitas periit miseris, successit egestas:
  Debuimus, fateor, asperiora pati,
Sed miserere, potens rector, miserere, precamur,
  Et tandem finem his, pie, pone malis.'

BOOK VI. CH. 8. Virgil, and Tibullus, and rejoicing in his thorough knowledge of Greek. He is represented as teaching the grammar of this language to the ambassadors who are about to proceed to Constantinople to negotiate a marriage between the Frankish king's daughter and the son of the Emperor, and, thanks to Paulus, Charles is persuaded that his messengers will not appear unlearned persons in the Byzantine court. Paulus in his reply modestly disclaims rivalry with the great poets mentioned, and professes ignorance of the Greek language, of which, if the ambassadors to Constantinople know no more than they have learned from him, he fears they will be derided for being as dumb as statues. At the same time, in order to prevent these disclaimers from being taken too literally, he sends a Latin translation of a Greek epigram (learned by him in his youth) on a boy who perished in the frozen Hebrus.

A favourite amusement of the king and his literary friends appears to have been setting one another riddles, and most of these epistolary poems are concerned with these enigmas. If they were not easy to guess eleven centuries ago, it may be imagined how hopelessly dark they have now become, and to see industrious German scholars striving to pick out some solid historical facts from these chaotic and unintelligible *vers de société* is one of the most pitiable sights in literature. But we can recover a few details as to the life of the historian from allusions scattered through the poems. He evidently lived in a 'hospitium' not far from the palace. His food and that of other grammarians at the court was provided by the king. At early morning, a soldier in shining armour would present himself at the door, having in his hand the enigmatical letter of Charles. The men of letters sometimes wrote to one another the praises of their common patron, 'a young man of beauteous form, whose beard is flourishing on his snow-white chin': sometimes they addressed him with names of allegorical compliment, Charles himself being 'the Cedar' and his wife Hildegard 'the Cypress[1].' Then the great king would condescend to

[1] This is Dahn's very probable explanation of the lines:—
'Cedre, vale et celsos pertange cacumine nimbos,
Tu quoque cum fructu, felix cyparisse per aevum.'

bandy jokes with his literary retainers. Paulus had piously wished his patron fifteen years of added life, even as they were granted to king Hezekiah: and Charles solemnly, by the pen of his secretary Alcuin, wished Paulus an extension of life for fifteen hours. Or the king in pretended wrath (and perhaps with some allusion to the choice of triple evils given to king David[1]) asked the Lombard deacon whether he would choose to be crushed under an immense weight of iron, or to lie shackled in some dark prison-cave, or to go and convert Siegfried king of Denmark, 'impious lord of a pestiferous realm,' and 'touch his forehead with the sanctifying water.' Paulus answers that, as Siegfried and his crew know no Latin, he will seem like a brute beast to them, and they will be no better than shaggy goats to him. But he has no fear of venturing among them. When they know that he comes with great Charles's name protecting him, they will not venture to lift one little finger against him. And if Siegfried dares to refuse the holy water of baptism, Paulus will drag him to the foot of Charles's throne, with his hands bound behind his back, nor will his gods 'Thonar' and 'Waten' (Thor and Odin) avail him anything.

All this is, of course, only fooling, but the majestic figure of the restorer of the Empire and the ascetic form of the historian of the Lombards grow more real to our imagination as we listen even to the banter which passed between them in that long-vanished century.

For about four years, apparently, Paulus remained north of the Alps, generally following the movements of the King's court. This cause would account for his presence at two of the places which he alludes to as having been visited by him, namely, Metz and Thionville[2]. His sojourn at the latter place, which probably lasted for several months, and which certainly included one Christmas (probably in 784), is marked for us by a curious astronomical observation. In the opening chapter of his History of the Lombards[3], he remarks that the further north

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[1] 2 Samuel xxiv. 13.

[2] Totonis or Theodonis Villa; Diedenhofen.

[3] I. 5.

a man travels, the longer will he find his shadow to be at mid-day in the winter solstice. 'In Italy, as the ancients also noted, about the day of the birth of Christ, the shadow of a man of ordinary stature measures nine feet at noon. But I, when I was stationed at Belgic Gaul, at the place which is called the villa of Theodo [or Toto], measuring the shadow of my stature, found it to be nineteen feet and a half[1].' From these data an Italian mathematician has proved that Paulus was five feet eleven inches and eleven lines high.

Another place to which Paulus journeyed, probably not in the train of King Charles, was Poitiers[2]. Here he visited the tomb of Venantius Fortunatus, a man whose history somewhat resembled his own, like him a poet, like him sprung from the mountains of Friuli, like him finding grace and favour at the court of Frankish kings by reason of his literary gifts. At the request of Aper, Abbot of St. Hilarius, Paulus composed an epitaph in twelve elegiac lines, which was engraved above the tomb of Fortunatus.

At length, about the year 786, Paulus returned to Italy, possibly in the train of his patron, who, in December of that year, crossed the Alps, to visit his Lombard kingdom. After a sojourn in Rome of uncertain length, Paulus finally re-entered his beloved monastery of Monte Casino, which, as far as we know, he never again quitted. There, apparently, he died about the year 795, at any rate between 790 and 800; but neither as to the place nor the time of his death have we any absolutely certain information.

During the period of his visit to Gaul, or after his return, he wrote several books which are still preserved: the 'Lives of the Bishops of Metz' (a delicate compliment to King Charles, who was descended from Arnulf, the most famous occupant of the see), 'The Life of Pope Gregory the Great,' and a collection of Homilies from the works of 'Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Leo, Gregory, and other venerable fathers.'

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[1] 'Ego autem in Galliâ Belgicâ in loco qui Totonis villa dicitur constitutus, status mei umbram metiens, decem et novem et semis pedes inveni.'

[2] Dahn suggests that possibly his brother Arichis may have been imprisoned there.

Among his smaller poetical works, one has accidentally connected itself by an indissoluble bond with the history of art. This is the hymn to St. John the Baptist, the first verse of which is as follows:—

'*Ut* queant laxis *re*sonare fibris
*Mi*ra gestorum *fa*muli tuorum
*Sol*ve polluti *la*bii reatum
Sancte Johannes.'

From this verse are taken, for no very obvious reason except the great and early popularity of the hymn, the names of six notes in the octave.

But of all his works incomparably the best and most precious is that with which we are now concerned, the *Historia Langobardorum*. The reader will have abundant opportunities for forming his own judgement as to the style and temper of this book in his perusal of this portion of the history, which is chiefly based upon it. It will be enough here to say that its composition evidently occupied the closing years of the life of Paulus. In six books it gives us the history of the Lombard nation from their origin down to the death of king Liutprand (744). It thus breaks off just at the time when the historian would have been assuming the character of a contemporary narrator: a most tantalising interruption, and one which is undoubtedly due to the author's death before his work was completed. Though he writes after the fall of the Lombard monarchy, there is no bitterness in his tone when he is speaking of their hereditary enemies the Franks, nor—what is perhaps more extraordinary—is there any attempt to trace the causes of his countrymen's failure. In short, to use a convenient German phrase, it is not in the least a *Tendenz-Schrift* (a 'history with a purpose'), though the circumstances of the author would have seemed likely to offer an almost irresistible temptation to give his work that character. Herein it differs from both of our other great sources of information as to the Teutonic invaders of the Empire, the 'Germania' of Tacitus, and the 'De Rebus Geticis' of Jordanes.

I shall point out, as we proceed, the chief authors to whom Paulus is indebted for his materials, following the guidance of Dr. Jacobi, whose book 'Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte

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des Paulus Diaconus' (Halle, 1877), speaks the final word on this subject. In the following chapter, which corresponds to the first book of the 'Historia Langobardorum,' the chief source is the *Origo*, but with many precious additions from the national sagas. (I quote, of course, from the edition of Paulus, by Waitz, in 'Monumenta Germaniae Historica,' which supersedes all others.)

Guides. For the life of Paulus, *Bethmann*: an article in the 'Archiv,' vol. x, and *Dahn*, 'Langobardische Studien,' Leipzig, 1876. The latter book, though very painstaking, is perhaps somewhat too negative in its criticism. Waitz's Life, prefixed to the above edition in the M. G. H., is very helpful.

§ 1. *Early notices of the Langobardi by Greek and Roman writers.*

Strange hiatus in the history of the Langobardi.

MOST writers who have touched upon the early history of the Lombards have been struck with the curious hiatus which exists in the historical notices of that people. At the time of the Christian era, our information concerning them, if not very full, is clear and definite. At intervals throughout the first century their name reappears in the pages of the historians of the Empire, and we have one notice of them, brief but important, towards the end of the second century. From that date (cir. A. D. 167) to the reign of the Emperor Anastasius—an interval of more than three centuries—the Roman and Greek historians do not mention the name of the Lombards, and, as will be seen hereafter, we have to go to another source, and one of a very different kind, for any information as to their history during this period of obscuration.

Our chief authorities as to the geographical position

of the Lombards, in their first settlement known to history are Strabo (who wrote about A.D. 20), Tacitus (cir. 61–117), and Ptolemy (cir. 100–161)[1]. On the combined testimony of these three authors we are safe in asserting that the Langobardi (such is the earliest form of their name) dwelt near the mouth of the Elbe, and were in frequent and close relations with the Hermunduri and Semnones, two great Suevic tribes which were settled higher up the stream, on its

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Geographical data: Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolemy.

[1] Strabo, book vii. (p. 420, Ed. Oxon). *Μέγιστον μὲν τὸ τῶν Σουηύων ἔθνος· διήκει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος· μέρος δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἄλβιος νέμεται, καθάπερ καὶ Εὑμόνδοροι καὶ Λαγκόσαργοι· νῦν δὲ καὶ τελέως εἰς τὴν περαίαν οὗτοί γε ἐκπεπτώκασι φεύγοντες.* 'Greatest of all is the nation of the Suevi, for it stretches from the Rhine even to the Elbe: and a certain part thereof is situated even beyond the Elbe, to wit the Eumonduri and Lancosargi (=Hermunduri and Langobardi): but now these have been expelled and forced to flee altogether to the opposite shore.' The wording of the sentence is somewhat obscure, but it seems to me pretty clear that Strabo means to assert that in his time the Hermunduri and Langobardi had been driven (perhaps by the terror of the Roman arms) from the left to the right bank of the Elbe. Herein I agree with Schmidt (p. 33, n. 2) and differ from Bluhme (p. 19).

Tacitus (Germania, xl) after describing the Semnones, their hundred *pagi* and their pride of place as head of the Suevic nation, continues, 'Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt.'

Ptolemy (Geogr. ii. 11, § 17) places the Langobardi next (eastwards) after the Chauci and Angrivarii and before the Dulgumnii. Apparently these tribes dwelt chiefly between the Weser and the Elbe.

But he also in an earlier paragraph (§§ 8, 9) puts the 'Suevi Langobardi' next (southwards) after the Sigambri, who, it is agreed, dwelt on the right bank of the Rhine not far from Cologne. These may possibly have been an offshoot from the main body of the Langobardi who had pushed thus far westwards; but Ptolemy, who collected his geographical facts from various sources, is not very particular to make them agree one with the other.

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western and eastern banks respectively. There is a little conflict of testimony between Strabo and Ptolemy as to the side of the Elbe on which the Langobardi dwelt. Strabo puts them on the further, Ptolemy on the hither shore. If the authority of the former prevail, we must look upon parts of Mecklenburg and Holstein as their home, if that of the latter, the eastern part of the Electorate of Hanover, from Lüneburg to Salzwedel. Possibly enough both may be right for different periods of their history, for Strabo expressly points out that the common characteristic of all the dwellers in this part of Germany was the readiness with which they changed their homes, the result of the simplicity of their diet, and the pastoral rather than agricultural character of their occupations. He compares them herein to the Nomads of Scythia, in imitation of whom, as he says, they were wont to place all their household goods on waggons, and set their faces in any direction that pleased them, driving their cattle and sheep before them.

The Langobardi neighbours of the Angli.

The Hermunduri and Semnones, the southern neighbours of the Langobardi, were important nations in their day, but their memory has perished; and they have left no lasting trace on the map of Europe. More interesting, at least to us, is the fact that among the neighbours of the Langobardi on the north are enumerated the tribe of the Angli[1], 'fenced in,' as Tacitus says, 'by their forests or by their streams.' He goes on to tell us that the only thing noteworthy about the tribes (seven in number) north of the Lango-

[1] 'Reudigni deinde et Aviones *et Angli* et Varini et Eudoses et Suardones et Nuithones fluminibus aut silvis muniuntur.' Germ. xl.

bardi—and the remark may possibly apply to the Langobardi themselves—is the worship which they all paid in common to the goddess Nertha, Mother Earth. Her chariot and her image were hidden in the recesses of a sacred grove, apart in an island of the ocean [1]. Here dwelt the solitary priest who was allowed access to her shrine. At stated times he crossed the sea with the image of the goddess. Placed upon the consecrated chariot and covered by a sacred robe, it was drawn by cows from village to village, along the plains of Holstein. Wherever the sacred image went there was joy and feasting: peace reigned instead of the continual clashing of the swords of the sons of Odin; till at length the goddess, sated with the converse of mortals, returned to her island home. The chariot, the vest, and (some said) the image of Mother Earth herself, were washed in a sacred lake. The slaves who had been employed in this lustration were then themselves whelmed beneath its waters, and the lonely priest resumed his guard of the lonely deity whom it was death to behold. Such were the rites with which the Angle and the Langobard of the first century after Christ, the ancestors of Bede and of Anselm, of Shakespeare and of Dante, jointly adored the Mother of Mankind.

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Worship of Nertha.

The origin of the name borne by the Langobardi has been a subject of some discussion. The national historian, as we shall see a little further on, derives it from their *long beards*, and tells a curious story to account for its first bestowal on the nation [2]. As *bart*

Origin of the name Langobardi.

[1] Generally supposed to be Heligoland, or possibly Rügen.

[2] The same derivation is put forward by an earlier scholar who concerned himself with the history of the Teutonic races, if he was

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or *bard*, in some form or other, is the equivalent of the Latin *barba* in the chief Low-German languages[1], there can be no objection raised on the score of philology to this derivation. It has been urged[2], however, that the very fact of its resemblance to the Latin form may have suggested it too easily to an uncritical historian, and that, since some other German tribes wore their hair and beards long[3], it is difficult to understand why the long beards of this one tribe should have been distinctive enough to entitle them to a separate name. It is, therefore, proposed to derive the name from the Old High-German word *barta*, an axe, the root which appears in hal*bert* and *par*tizan. Again, another author[4] argues for its derivation from the root *bord* (which we have preserved in the word sea-board, though custom forbids us to speak of a river-board), and contends that the Langobardi received their name from the long flat meadows by the Elbe where they had their dwelling. According as we adopt one or other of these suggestions,

not himself of Teutonic descent, Isidore of Seville (cir. 560–636). He says that 'the Langobards were commonly so called from their prolix and never shaven beards' (Isidor. Hispal. Origg. 9. 2: quoted by Zeuss, p. 109).

[1] In Dutch *baard*, in Anglo-Saxon *beard* or *berd*, in Icelandic *bart*.

[2] By Dr. Latham (Germania of Tacitus, p. 139).

[3] Tacitus, Germ. xxxi. 'Et aliis Germanorum populis usurpatum rarâ et privatâ cujusque audentiâ, apud Chattos in consensum vertit, ut primum adoleverint, crinem barbamque summittere, nec nisi hoste caeso exuere votivum obligatumque virtuti oris habitum.' This quotation hardly proves Dr. Latham's point. Wearing the hair and beard long seems to have been the exception, not the rule with the German tribes, and even among the Chatti who most practised it, as soon as a young warrior had slain his foe, he began to shave his beard and poll his hair.

[4] Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, s. v. Langobardi in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

the tribe whose history we are considering will have been the Long-bearded men, the Long-halbert-bearing men, or the Long-shore-men. I confess that to me the first, the old-fashioned derivation, that which was accepted by Isidore and Paulus, still seems the most probable. In any case there is no doubt about the meaning of the first element of the name, and remembering the neighbourhood of the Langobardi and the Angli, we note with interest the true Teutonic form of the word, as it reappears in *Lang*dale, and *Lang*ley, and the Scotch phrase 'Auld *Lang* Syne,' rather than in our modern Gallicised word *long*.

Their character.

The tribe of the Langobards were early distinguished by their fierce and warlike disposition. Velleius Paterculus, the contemporary and flatterer of Tiberius, in speaking of the victories of his hero in Germany (cir. A.D. 6), says that 'nations whose very names were before almost unknown, were beaten down before him; the Langobardi, a race fierce with more than the ordinary fierceness of Germany, were broken by his arms, and the Roman legions with their standards were led from the Rhine to the Elbe[1].' So too, Tacitus, after describing the numerous and powerful nation of the Semnones, the head of the Suevic race, dwelling in a hundred *pagi*, passes on to their neighbours the Langobardi, and says that 'these may rather pride themselves on the smallness of their numbers, since, girt round by so many great and strong nationalities,

[1] 'Fracti Langobardi gens etiam Germanâ feritate ferocior: denique, quod nunquam antea spe conceptum, nedum opere tentatum erat, ad quadringentesimum milliarium a Rheno usque ad flumen Albim, qui Semnonum Hermundorumque fines praeterfluit, Romanus cum signis perductus exercitus' (Velleius Paterculus, ii. 106).

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they have preserved their existence, not by a humble obedience, but by perpetual fighting, and in peril have found safety[1].'

Share of the Langobardi in the war between Arminius and Maroboduus.

The two greatest names in the history of the German peoples during the first century of our era were undoubtedly Arminius and Maroboduus; Arminius, the patriot chief of the Cherusci, who stirred up his tribe to a successful resistance against the encroachments of Rome, and who annihilated the three legions of Varus in the Teutoburgian forests; Maroboduus, the self-centred and crafty despot of the Marcomanni, who built up for himself a dominion of almost Oriental arrogance in the mountain-girdled realm of Bohemia; who gave succour and asylum to the enemies of Rome, and the shadow of whose ever-menacing might darkened with anxiety the last years of Augustus himself[2]. In a fortunate hour for Rome, these two leaders of the German resistance to the Empire turned their arms against each other. The cause of the Cherusci, championed as it was by so popular a leader as Arminius, was looked upon by the Germans generally with greater favour than that of the Marcomanni under the autocratic Maroboduus[3], and hence it came to pass that on the eve of the conflict, two Suevic tribes[4], the Semnones and the Langobardi, separated

A.D. 9.

A.D. 3–19.

A.D. 17.

[1] 'Contra Langobardos paucitas nobilitat: plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti, non per obsequium sed proeliis et periclitando tuti sunt' (Germania, xl).

[2] See vol. iii. 270–271, for a sketch of the history of Maroboduus.

[3] 'Vis nationum, virtus ducum in aequo: sed Maroboduum regis nomen invisum apud populares, Arminium pro libertate bellantem favor habebat' (Tacit. Annal. ii. 44).

[4] 'E regno etiam Marobodui Suevae gentes Semnones et

themselves from the Marcomannic kingdom and joined the Cheruscan confederacy. In the battle which followed, and which, though nominally drawn, was virtually a defeat for Maroboduus (soon followed by the utter downfall of his power), the Langobardi are especially mentioned as doing great deeds of prowess by the side of their Cheruscan allies on behalf of their new-found liberty[1]. BOOK VI. CH. 3.

The Langobardi evidently adhered for one generation at least to their new alliance, and did not return within the orbit of the great Suevic monarchy. Thirty years after their revolt from Maroboduus, when the Cheruscan Italicus, the Romanised nephew of Arminius, was struggling, with diverse fortunes, to maintain himself in the royal position to which he had been raised by his countrymen, weary of anarchy, it was among the Langobardi that he took refuge after he had been defeated by the rebels; it was from them that he received help and comfort, and it was by their arms that he seems to have been once, at least, reseated on the forest-throne of the Cherusci[2]. A.D. 47.

Southward migration of the Langobardi.

From this point onwards our information as to the fortunes of the Langobardi becomes extremely meagre. The indications of their geographical position given by Tacitus and by Ptolemy, show that they were still known to the Romans as occupying their previous dwellings on the Elbe, in the reigns of Nerva and the

Langobardi defecere ad Arminium' (Ibid. 45). I think this is the only distinct statement that we have as to the Suevic nationality of the Langobardi. But cf. Strabo, as quoted on p. 81.

[1] 'Quum a Cheruscis Langobardisque pro antiquo decore aut recenti libertate . . . certaretur' (Ibid. 46).

[2] 'Pulsus ac rursus Langobardorum opibus refectus, per laeta, per adversa res Cheruscas adflictabat' (Ibid. xi. 17).

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elder Antoninus. But soon after Ptolemy wrote, they must have quitted their old home in order to take part in that movement of the German tribes southwards which brought on the Marcomannic war, and involved the reluctant philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, in ten bloody and hard-fought campaigns.

A.D. 167–174. 178–179.

The Langobardi on the Danube.

In a somewhat obscure paragraph[1] of the history written by Peter the Patrician (Justinian's ambassador to Theodahad), we are informed that 'six thousand Langibardi (*sic*) and Obii, having crossed the Danube, were turned to utter rout by the cavalry under Vindex, aided by an attack from the infantry under Candidus. As the result of this defeat, the barbarians, desisting in terror from their first attempt, sent ambassadors to Aelius Bassus who was then administering Pannonia. The ambassadors were Vallomar, king of the Marcomanni, and ten others, one being chosen to represent each tribe. Peace was made, oaths were sworn to ratify it, and the barbarians returned to their home[3].'

A.D. 165[2].

Not much can be made out of a jejune fragment like this, but it is clear that the Langobardi have left the

[1] Fragment 6: p. 124 of the Bonn edition, 'Dexippi Eunapii, Petri Patricii, &c., Historiarum quae supersunt.'

[2] Tillemont assigns the events here recorded to 170: Niebuhr (in the Bonn edition of Petrus) to 167. Von Stoltzenberg Luttmersen remarks that they must have happened before 166, 'as it can be proved that it was in that year that Vindex the Praefectus Praetorio (who is here spoken of as routing the Langibardi) himself fell in battle.'

[3] It is suggested by Schmidt (p. 7) that this notice is taken over by Petrus from Dio Cassius, who was almost a contemporary of the events recorded therein. Müller (Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, iv. 186) says, 'wherever we can compare the two writers, it is plain that Petrus copied Dio Cassius.'

lower waters of the Elbe for the middle waters of the Danube. They are accompanied by the Obii, in whom some commentators see the same people as the Aviones, whom Tacitus makes next-door neighbours to the Langobardi, but of whose history we are otherwise entirely ignorant. They are evidently once more allies, perhaps subject-allies, of their old masters the Marcomanni, since Vallomar the Marcomannic king heads the embassy to Aelius Bassus. Considering that the account of the campaign comes from a Roman source, we may probably infer with safety that the repulse sustained by the Langobardi and their confederates was not a serious one, and that, though they did not maintain the position which they had taken up on the Roman shore of the Middle Danube, yet in returning 'to their home,' they withdrew to no great distance from the tempting plains of Pannonia.

Silence of Greek and Roman writers as to the Langobardi for 300 years.

After this notice, information from Greek or Roman writers as to the fortunes of the Langobardi entirely fails us, and for a space of 300 years (as was before said) their name disappears from history. It brings before us in a forcible manner the long space of time over which the downfall of the Empire extended, to remind ourselves that this mere gap in the story of one of its destined destroyers lasted for ten generations, for an interval as long as that which separates the Englishmen of to-day from their forefathers of the reign of Elizabeth.

To some small extent, however, we may fill up the interval by repeating what the national historian, Paulus Diaconus, has preserved of the old traditions of the Lombard race. Some of these traditions may possibly reach back to an earlier date than the notices

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of Strabo and Tacitus, but it is vain to attempt to fit the Saga (at least in its earlier portions) and the literary history into one continuous narrative. Far better does it seem to be to let the two streams of recital flow on unmingled, only eliminating from the pages of Paulus those paragraphs which evidently do not come from the treasure-house of the old national traditions, but are merely borrowed, and for the most part unnecessarily borrowed, from the pages of classical historians and geographers. The 'Origo Gentis Langobardorum' gives us the framework of the story, but the details come, for the most part, from the pages of Paulus Diaconus.

§ 2. *The Saga of the Longbeards.*

Saga.

'In the Northern land, that fruitful mother of nations, whose hardy sons have so often poured down on Illyricum and Gaul, and especially upon unhappy Italy, lies a mighty island, washed, and owing to its flat shores, well-nigh washed away, by the sea, and named Scandinavia[1]. Here dwelt long ago the little nation[2] of the Winnili, afterwards known as the Langobards.

The Winnili in Scandinavia.

Migration under Ibor and Aio.

'Now the time came when this people found the island of Scandinavia too strait for them, and dividing themselves into three portions they cast lots which of the three it should be that must depart from their

[1] [The MSS. of the Origo read Scadanan, Scandanan (for -anavia?); those of Paulus, Scadanavia, Scandinavia. That Scadinavia is the correct form is proved by the Scaten-auga of the Chron. Gothanum, the Frankish Schatan-avia (Fredegar), and the Old English Sceden-ig. The name survives in Skåne or Scania (Old Norse Skān-ey, Germ. Schonen, the southern extremity of Sweden.]

[2] 'Gens parva quae Winnilis vocabatur' (Origo).

fatherland. Then that portion of the people upon which the lot had fallen, ordained two brothers to be their leaders, whose names were Ibor and Aio[1], men in the youthful vigour of their years, and sons of a woman named Gambara, in whose wise counsels they trusted greatly. Under these leaders they set forth to seek their new homes[2], and came to the region which is called Scoringa.

War with the Vandals.

'Now, at that time, Ambri and Assi, the two chiefs of the Vandals, having won many victories, held all the countries round under the terror of their name. These men marched with an army against the Winnili, and said unto them, "Either pay us tribute, or prepare yourselves for battle and fight against us." Now the Winnili were all in the first flush and vigour of their youth, yet were they very few in number, being only the third part of the inhabitants of an island of no great size. Howbeit, Ibor and Aio having consulted with their mother Gambara, decided that it was better to defend their liberty by their arms than to soil it by the payment of tribute, and made answer accordingly, "We will prepare for battle." Then did both nations pray to the gods for victory. Ambri and Assi prayed to Odin[3], and he answered them,

[1] Ybor and Agio (Origo).

[2] Paulus here introduces the story of the Seven Sleepers, whom he places in the extreme limits of Germany; also a description of the Scritobini (apparently a nation dwelling in the north of Sweden), and an account of the land of the midnight sun. He then remarks on the difference in the length of our shadows in winter as we proceed further north (see above, p. 77). He also inserts here a long description of Scylla and Charybdis, which he places near the Channel Islands.

[3] Godan, both in Paulus and the Origo.

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"Whomsoever I shall first look upon at sunrise, to that nation will I give the victory." But Gambara and her two sons prayed to Freya, the wife of Odin, that she should show favour unto them. Then Freya counselled them that at sunrise the Winnili should all assemble before Odin's eastern window, having their wives with them, and that the women should let down their hair and encircle their faces with it as if it were a beard. Then, when the sun was rising, Freya turned upon her couch, and awoke her husband, and bade him look forth from the eastern window. And he looked and saw the Winnili and their wives with their hair about their faces, and said, "Who are these long-bearded ones?" Then said Freya to Odin, "As thou hast given them the name Langobardi, so give them the victory." And he gave them the victory, and from that day the Winnili were called the Langobardi[1].

Origin of the name Langobardi.

'[2]After this victory the Langobardi were sore pressed with famine, and moved forth from the province of Scoringa, intending to go into Mauringa. But when they reached the frontier, the Assipitti[3]

War with the Assipitti.

[1] This story is given with somewhat more detail in the Origo than by Paulus, who as an ecclesiastic feels it necessary to apologise for relating anything so heathenish. 'Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam.' . . . 'Haec risui digna sunt et pro nihilo habenda. Victoria enim non potestati est adtributa hominum, sed de caelo potius ministratur.' He goes on however to say that it is certain that the Langobardi, who had been previously called Winnili, derived their name from the length of their beards, untouched by the razor. 'Nam juxta illorum linguam *lang* longam *bart* barbam significat' (i. 9).

[2] There is nothing in the Origo corresponding to this paragraph of Paulus.

[3] Possibly Assipitti = Usipetes (see Tacitus, Annals, i. 51).

Strange artifices of the Langobardi.

were drawn up determined to dispute the passage. When the Langobardi saw the multitude of the enemy, and knew that by reason of their own small numbers they could not engage with them, they hit upon the following device. They pretended that they had in their camp Cynocephali, that is dog-headed men. They made the enemy believe that these creatures followed the business of war with eagerness, being intent on drinking human blood, and that, if they could not drink the blood of an enemy, they would even drink their own. At the same time, to make their numbers appear larger than they were, they spread their tents wide and kindled very many fires in their camp. By these arts the enemy were so far dismayed that they did not care to carry out their threat of battle; but, having in their ranks a champion who was very strong and whom they deemed invincible, they sent a messenger to propose that the dispute between the two peoples should be settled by single combat. If the champion of the Assipitti conquered, the Langobardi should return to the place from whence they came. But if the champion of the Langobardi prevailed, they should have liberty to march through the country of the Assipitti. Now when the Langobardi were in doubt whom they should choose for this encounter, a certain man, of servile origin, offered himself for the combat on condition that, if he were victorious, he and his offspring should be freed from the stain of slavery. His masters gladly promised to grant this request: he drew near to the enemy: he fought and conquered. The Langobardi had licence to pass through the country whither they would: and the champion ob-

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The Langobardi in Mauringa.

tained for himself and his children the rights of freedom. Thus, then, did the Langobardi succeed in reaching Mauringa, and there, that they might increase the number of their warriors, they gave liberty to many of their slaves. In order that the free condition of these might thenceforth be subject to no doubt, they ratified the enfranchisement in the accustomed manner by an arrow, murmuring at the same time certain words handed down from their forefathers for a solemn confirmation of the act.

Further migrations.

'From Mauringa the Langobardi moved forward and came into Golanda, and there they possessed the regions of Anthaib and Bainaib and Burgundaib[1], and now, as Ibor and Aio were dead, who had brought them out of the land of Scandinavia, and as they wished no longer to be under chiefs [or dukes], they chose themselves a king, after the manner of the nations. This was AGELMUND, son of Aio, of the noble seed of the Gungingi; and he reigned over the Langobardi thirty-three years.

Agelmund first king.

'In his time a certain woman of evil life brought

[1] We have here an obscure sentence in the Origo which has evidently perplexed Paulus almost as much as it perplexes us. The Origo says, 'Et moverunt se exinde Langobardi, et venerunt in Golandam et postea possederunt Aldonus (? Aldones) Anthaib et Bainaib, seu et Burgundaib.' Paulus expands this into 'Egressi igitur Langobardi de Mauringa applicuerunt in Golanda ubi aliquanto tempore commorati dicuntur post haec Anthaib et Banthaib, pari modo et Vurgundaib per annos aliquos possedisse, quae nos arbitrari possumus esse vocabula pagorum seu quorumcunque locorum.' He does not attempt to interpret *aldonus*, which still remains a partial enigma; but as we know that *aldii* with the Lombards signified serfs (half-free men), the Origo probably wishes to say that the Langobardi were in a condition of dependence on some other nation when they occupied Anthaib and Bainaib.

Strange story of Lamissio.

forth seven children at a birth, and this mother, more cruel than the beasts, cast them all into a pond to be drowned. Now it happened that King Agelmund, on a journey, came to that very pond. Halting his horse, he marvelled at the unhappy babes, and, with the spear which he held in his hand, turned them over hither and thither. Then one of the children put forth its hand and grasped the royal spear. The king was stirred with pity, and, moreover, predicted a great future for the child, and at once ordered it to be lifted out of the pond, and handed over to a nurse, to be brought up with all possible care. And, as the child had been drawn out of a pond, which in their language is called *lama*, it received the name Lamissio.

Collision with the Amazons,

'Lamissio, when he came to man's estate, proved to be so strong a youth and so apt in war that, upon the death of King Agelmund, he was chosen to guide the helm of the state. It is reported that before his accession, when Agelmund and his people were on their march, they found the passage of a certain river barred by Amazons. It was decided by the two armies that the dispute between them should be settled by single combat between Lamissio and one of the Amazons, a strong swimmer and a stalwart fighter. He surpassed her in swimming, and slew her in the fight, and thus obtained for his people passage across the stream.

and with the Bulgarians.

'After this, the Langobardi, having crossed the stream and come into the lands beyond, dwelt there for some time in quietness and free from fear. The evil result of this security was seen when, by night, the Bulgarians suddenly fell upon them in their sleep,

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took and pillaged their camp, wounded many and slew many—among them Agelmund their king, whose only daughter they carried off into captivity.

Lamissio king.

'On the death of Agelmund, as has been already said, LAMISSIO became king of the Langobardi[1]. A young man, of eager soul, prompt for war, and longing to avenge the death of his benefactor Agelmund, he turned his arms against the Bulgarians. At the beginning of the first battle the Langobardi showed their backs to the enemy and sought refuge in their camp. Then Lamissio, seeing this, in a loud voice cried out to the whole army, bidding them remember the shame which they had before endured at the hands of these very enemies—their king slain, and his daughter, whom they had hoped to have for their queen, miserably carried off into captivity. He exhorted them to defend themselves and their families with their arms, saying it was better to die than to live as vile slaves, subject to the insults of such despicable foes. With threats and with promises he hardened the minds of his people for the fight, offering liberty and great rewards to any man of servile condition whom he saw forward in the fray, and thus, by his words and by his example (for he fought in the forefront of the battle), he so wrought upon the minds of his men that they at length made a deadly charge upon the enemy, whom they utterly routed, and wrought great slaughter upon them, thus avenging the death of their king. The great spoil which they gathered from this battle-field made them thence-

[1] In the Origo he is called *Laiamicho,* and he is said to have been 'ex genere Gugingus,' an apparent contradiction to the singular story of his birth given by Paulus.

forward keener and more bold in seeking the labours of war. BOOK VI. CH. 3.

'On the death of Lamissio, LETHU[1] was crowned the third king of the Langobardi. After he had reigned about forty years, he died, and was succeeded by his son HILDEOC[2]; and on his death GUDEOC[3] took the kingdom. Lethu king. Hildeoc. Gudeoc.

'In the reign of this, the fifth king of the Langobardi, happened that great overthrow of the Rugians and their king, Feletheus, by Odovacar, which had been foretold by the blessed Severinus, on account of the wickedness of Gisa, the Rugian queen[4]. Then the Langobardi, going forth from their own regions, entered Rugiland (as the country of the Rugians was called in their language), and there, as the soil was fertile, they remained for several years. The Langobardi enter Rugiland.

'During this interval Gudeoc died, and was succeeded by CLAFFO, his son, and, on his death, TATO, his son, seventh king of the Langobardi, ascended the throne. Then the Langobardi, going forth from Rugiland, dwelt in the wide plains which are called, in barbarian speech, *Feld*. And as they were tarrying in that place, for a space of three years, war arose between Tato and Rodulf, king of the Heruli.' Claffo. Tato.

We have now reached the point at which the two

[1] In the Origo, *Lethuc*.

[2] In the Origo, *Aldihoc*.

[3] In the Origo, *Godihoc*.

[4] See vol. iii. pp. 171–192 for the account of this invasion of Rugiland by Odovacar. The only point that seems to require notice is Paulus' account of the nations under Odovacar's sway: 'Adunatis igitur Odoacar gentibus quae ejus ditioni parebant, id est Turcilingis et Herolis, *Rugorumque parte quos jam dudum possidebat*, venit in Rugiland . . . quae Latino eloquio Rugorum patria dicitur,' &c.

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streams, of Roman-written history and of Lombard Saga, fall into one. The war between King Tato and King Rodulf is narrated by Procopius as well as by Paulus, and can be assigned without much risk of error to a definite date A.D. 511 or 512.

Comparison between Paulus and Jordanes.

In reading these early pages of Lombard history as narrated by their churchman-chronicler, one is forcibly impressed by the general similarity which they bear to the history of the Goths, as told by their churchman-chronicler, Jordanes. We have in both the same curious blending of Teutonic tradition and classical mythology, the same tendency to digress into geographical description, the same hesitating treatment of the legends of heathenism from the standpoint of Christianity. But there is one great and obvious difference between Paulus and Jordanes. The Gothic historian exhibits a pedigree showing fourteen generations before Theodoric, and thus reaching back very nearly to the Christian era. The Lombard historian gives us only five links of the chain before the time of Odovacar, the contemporary of Theodoric, and thus reaches back, at furthest, only to the era of Constantine. Doubtless this modesty of his claim somewhat increases our confidence in the genuineness of his traditions, since, had he been merely inventing, it would have been as easy to imagine twenty names as five. On the other hand, it seems to show that the Langobardi, 'fierce beyond even German ferocity,' a brutal and savage people, had preserved fewer records of the deeds of their fathers, probably had been more complete strangers to the art of writing, than their more civilized Gothic contemporaries. Indeed, even with these latter, signs are not wanting

that national consciousness, and therefore national memory, were quickened and strengthened, if not altogether called into being, by their contact with the great civilized Empire of Rome.

The narrative of Paulus is hopelessly unchronological.

However this may be, it is quite clear that it is hopeless to get any possible scheme of Lombard chronology out of these early chapters of Paulus. His narrative would place the migration from Scandinavia about A.D. 320, whereas it is certain that the Langobardi were dwelling on the southern shore of the Baltic at the time of the birth of Christ. And conversely he represents Agelmund the first king of the Langobardi, whose place in his narrative makes it impossible to fix his date later than 350, as slain in battle by the Bulgarians, who, as we know from another source[1], first appeared in Europe about 479. Thus, whatever genuine facts as to the early history of the people may be preserved in these curious traditions, they are like mountains seen through a mist, whose true size and distance we are unable to measure.

Residual facts.

The chief of these dimly-discerned facts appear to be:—

1. The name Winnili.

(1) The primordial name of *Winnili*, applied to the nation which was afterwards known as Langobardi. There does not appear to be any motive of national vanity for inventing this change of name, and we may therefore accept it as true, though not co-ordinated with any other facts with which we are acquainted.

2. Migration from Scandinavia.

(2) The migration from the island of Scandinavia, by which Paulus appears to mean the southern part

[1] Joannes Antiochenus, § 214 (Ap. Müller, iv. 619). See vol. iii. p. 121.

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of the Swedish peninsula, intersected as it is with many lakes, and standing, so to speak, 'out of the water and in the water.' Few questions are more debated by ethnologists at the present day than this, whether the Teutonic nations are to be deduced from 'the common Aryan home' in Central Asia, or from the lands north of the Baltic: and, as far as the authority of Paulus and Jordanes is of any avail, it must be admitted to make in favour of the *latter* hypothesis.

3. Scoringa = Bardengau.

(3) *Scoringa*, the first home of the Langobards after their departure from Scandinavia, is probably named from a word related to our own word *shore*, and means the territory on the left bank of the Elbe near its mouth. Here is a considerable tract of country which late on in the Middle Ages still bore the name *Bardengau*, derived from that of the Langobards, and whose chief city, *Bardowyk*, played an eventful part in the history of the early German Emperors, till it was destroyed in a fit of rage by Henry the Lion in 1189.

4. Mauringa in Holstein (?).

(4) *Mauringa* is also, on the authority of the Geographer of Ravenna, connected with the country near the mouth of the Elbe, probably on its right bank[1].

After this, however, we get into the region of mere conjecture. The hostile tribe of the Assipitti, the successive homes of the Langobard people in Anthaib, Bainaib and Burgundaib, are all matters of debate among the German inquirers who have written on the early history of the Lombards. The settlement of these questions, if settlement be possible, will depend on

[1] The Geographer of Ravenna, who is believed to have written in the seventh century after Christ, says, '[Dania], cujus ad frontem Alpes [? Albes] vel *patria Albis*, Maurungani certissime antiquitus dicebatur' (i. 11).

a minute acquaintance with German place-names and dialectic forms to which I can make no pretension, and therefore, while referring the curious reader to the note at the end of this chapter for a statement of some of the warring theories, I simply recall attention to the fact (hardly sufficiently noticed by some of them) that in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and about the year 166, we have a clear and trustworthy historical statement connecting the Langobards with an invasion of Pannonia. This movement from the Lower Elbe to the Middle Danube is quite accounted for by the facts that the Langobardi were more or less loosely attached to the great Suevic monarchy, which long had its centre and stronghold in that which is now Bohemia, that there was a general convergence of the tribes in Central Germany towards the Danube-frontier of the Empire about the time of the Marcomannic War, and that the great migration of the Gothic nation to the Euxine, which was described at the outset of this history[1], and which probably occurred about the middle of the second century, may well have sucked some of the tribes of the Elbe into its vortex, causing them, if once bent on change, to turn their faces towards the Danube rather than the Rhine.

I see no reason to believe that the Langobardi, having once left the shores of the North Sea and reached the heart of Germany, ever retraced their steps to their old home, though undoubtedly the barbarian wave rolled back foiled from the Pannonian frontier. For the following three centuries, therefore, I prefer to think of them as hovering about the skirts of the Carpathians (perhaps sometimes pressed north-

[1] See vol. i. p. 40 (second edition).

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wards into the upper valleys of the Oder and the Vistula) rather than as marching back across Germany to the once forsaken Bardengau[1]. The fact that when they are next heard of they are occupying Rugiland, the district on the northern shore of the Danube which faces Noricum, entirely confirms the view here advocated.

The three centuries of oblivion.

As I have said, the fortunes of this obscure and unnoticed tribe for more than three hundred years (from 166 to 508) are a blank, as far as authentic history is concerned. They were subject probably in the fourth century to the rule of Hermanric the Ostrogoth, subject certainly in the fifth century to the rule of Attila the Hun, but are not mentioned by the historians who have written of either monarch. On the fall of the Rugian monarchy (if the statement of Paulus on this subject be correct) they made a successful attempt to obtain a footing on the northern bank of the Danube, opposite the Roman province of Noricum. But, possibly owing to the consolidation of the power of Theodoric in these regions, they found that they had gained nothing by this movement, and that Noricum itself was still barred against them. They therefore went forth from Rugiland and took up their abode in some part of the wide plains of Hungary, called by them in their own Teutonic dialect, *Feld*.

Through all the eventful years from 376 to 476 they remained in the second rank of barbarian nations.

[1] It is perhaps a slight confirmation of this view that it brings the Langobards near to the old homes of the Goths and Burgundians, which may be the 'Golanda' and 'Burgundaib' of the Saga, but I lay no stress on this argument.

Other and stronger peoples, the Alamanni, the Thuringians, the Rugians, the Gepidae, the Heruli, ranged themselves close round the frontiers of the Empire, and, often overpassing its limits, watched with hungry eyes the death-throes of the Mistress of the World. The stalwart forms of these nations prevented the little Langobardic tribe from sharing the plunder or the excitement of the strife: and, for this reason doubtless, their name is not written in the Life of St. Severinus or in the letters of Cassiodorus.

But two events, separated by an interval of sixty years, yet displaying many points of similarity to one another, finally broke down this barrier and opened to the Langobardi the full career of rapine and of conquest. These were the war with the Heruli about 508 and the war with the Gepidae which ended in 567. The history of these two wars will now be related, on the joint authority of Procopius and of Paulus.

§ 3. *War with the Heruli.*

Geographical position of the Heruli.

The tribe of the Heruli, with whom we have already made some acquaintance in the wars of Odovacar and of Belisarius, are a perpetual puzzle to ethnologists. Zeuss, the most careful of all our guides, says of them[1], 'The Heruli are the most unstable of German tribes and seem to have wandered over well-nigh the whole of Europe[2]. They appear on the Dniester and

[1] Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 476.

[2] As a summary of the wanderings of this people given by a careful student, I quote here the account given by Dahn (Urgeschichte, i. 561), though I differ slightly from his conclusion as to their latest settlement. He says that the Heruli migrated

BOOK VI. CH. 8. the Rhine, they plunder in Greece and in Spain, they threaten Italy and Scandinavia.' It is clear that part at least of this 'instability' may be explained by the fact[1] that the tribe was early split up into two great divisions, one of which moved towards the Black Sea, while the other, remaining nearer to the common home of both, eventually made its appearance on the banks of the Rhine. With the western branch of the nation we have no present concern, and only to a very limited extent with the eastern branch, which towards the close of the fifth century appears to have been situated in Hungary on the eastern shore of the Danube, south of the wide '*Feld*' which was occupied by the Langobardi[2].

from the Baltic to the north-east of the Sea of Azof, and occupied the country extending from thence to the Caspian Sea. In the middle of the fourth century their king, Alaric, was defeated in these regions by Hermanric the Ostrogoth (Jordanes de Reb. Get. 23). They were then probably pushed up the northern bank of the Danube by the Huns, in whose train they entered Gaul at the time of Attila's invasion (I have not found the authority for this statement, which is not made, I think, by Jordanes or Sidonius). After Attila's death they freed themselves from the Hunnish yoke at the battle of the Nedao. (This is an inference from Jordanes, ibid. 50.) In 460 they pushed westwards as far as Salzburg (this we know from the life of Severinus: see vol. iii. p. 176); but their real home was much further eastwards on the Lower Danube, where however they with difficulty defended themselves from the increasing power of the Ostrogoths. They therefore retreated westwards, and at the same time many of them took service under Odovacar and the Emperor.

[1] Well insisted on by Pallmann, Geschichte der Völkerwanderung, ii. 45.

[2] Geographical accuracy is here quite unattainable. Pallmann (p. 48) places the Heruli between the Gran and the Theiss—that is north of Buda-Pesth—and the Langobardi north of them, in Southern Moravia. Spruner-Menke (Handatlas I) agrees with

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Their manners and customs.

Here, from of old, had dwelt the Herulian people, practising a number of strange and savage rites which Procopius (who loathed the race, having often had to endure their unpleasant companionship in camp and garrison) delights to describe to the discredit of their slightly less barbarous descendants. They propitiated their gods with human sacrifices, and the public opinion of the nation was hostile to the prolonged existence of the sick and the aged. As soon as a man found himself sinking into either of these two classes it was incumbent on him to ask his relations with the least possible delay to blot him out from the book of the living. Thereupon a great pile (apparently of pyramidal form) was built with logs of wood: the infirm man was seated on the top of it, and a fellow countryman, but not a kinsman of the victim, was sent up to despatch him with a short sword. When the executioner returned, having effected his purpose, the pious kinsmen set fire to the pile, beginning with the outer circle of logs, and when the whole pile was consumed and the flames had died down they collected their relative's charred bones and hid them in the earth. Not only was this form of *euthanasia* practised by the Heruli: the Hindu custom of *suttee* was also prevalent among them. On the death of a Herulian warrior, his wife, if she wished to preserve her good name, was virtually compelled to feign, if she did not feel, the emotions of a desolate widow, and to die, before many days had elapsed, at her husband's tomb. If instead of this self-sacrifice she

him. I would bring both nations further south, in order to get for the Langobardi a position more closely corresponding to the Feld (campi patentes) of Paulus.

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chose to continue in life, her character was gone, and she was an object of jeering and derision to the relatives of her husband.

Procopius' account of the war between the Heruli and the Langobardi. Defeat of the former.

In the course of time the Heruli probably laid aside some of the more repulsive of these savage customs, but they appear to have remained heathens till their disappearance from history. Their power grew greater, and the terror inspired by them was such that many of the nations round them, including the Langobardi, consented to pay them tribute, a mark of subjection, as Procopius observes, unusual among Teutonic nations. At some time during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius [1], a singular interlude occurred in the savage annals of the Heruli, for it is recorded that, having no one to fight with, they laid down their arms and for three years lived in peace. The warriors of the tribe, chafing at this inaction and having no instinct of discipline or subordination, constantly assailed their chieftain [2] Rodulf with taunts and sneers, calling him womanish and soft-hearted. At length, unable

Circa 508.

any longer to bear these insults, Rodulf determined to make war upon the Langobardi, not alleging any pretext for the attack, but simply asserting that such was his sovereign will. Once, twice, thrice, did the Langobardi send their embassies to dissuade him from the meditated injustice. Submissively they pleaded that they had made no default in the payment of their tribute: yet even the tribute should be increased

[1] The words of Procopius (De B. G. ii. 14) are ἡνίκα Ἀναστάσιος Ῥωμαίων τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν. It does not seem to me that this necessarily means 'immediately on the accession of Anastasius' (491), an interpretation which introduces some confusion into the chronology.

[2] Procopius calls Rodulf ἡγεμόνα, not βασιλέα.

if the Heruli desired it. Most unwillingly would the Langobardi array their forces against their powerful neighbours, yet they could not believe that God, a single breath of whose power avails to overthrow all the haughtiness of man, would leave them unbefriended if battle was forced upon them. To the humble entreaty and the pious warnings Rodulf returned the same answer, simply driving the ambassadors from his presence with threats, and marching further into the Langobardic territory.

At last came the inevitable collision, and Herul and Langobard met in battle-array. At that moment the sky above the Langobardic host was overcast with black clouds, while that above the Herulian army was magnificently clear, an omen (says Procopius) portending certain ruin to the latter nation[1]. But of all this the Heruli took no heed, but, utterly despising their enemies, pressed on, thinking to decide the combat by mere weight of numbers. When, however, the hand-to-hand fight began, many of the Heruli were slain; Rodulf himself fell down dead, and his followers, forgetful of the duty of warriors, fled in headlong haste. Most of them were slain by the closely pursuing Langobardi, and only a few escaped.

Such is Procopius' account of the battle which practically blotted out the Heruli from the list of

[1] ἡνίκα δὲ ἀμφότεροι ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο τὸν μὲν ὕπερθεν Λογγοβαρδῶν ἀέρα ξυνέβαινε μελαίνῃ τινὶ νεφέλῃ καὶ ἐς ἄγαν παχείᾳ καλύπτεσθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοὺς Ἐρούλους αἰθρίαν ὑπερφυῶς εἶναι. Οἷς δὴ τεκμηριούμενος εἴκασεν ἄν τις ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πο.ηρῷ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν Ἐρούλους ἰέναι. Οὐ γάρ τι τούτου πικρότερον βαρβάροις τέρας εἰς μάχην καθισταμένοις οἷόν τε εἶναι. (Procop. de Bello Gotthico, ii. 14.) Unless there is any special force in the word βαρβάροις, one would have expected the omen to be the other way.

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independent nations. We have another version of the same transactions from the pen of the Lombard historian, and curiously enough it is in many respects a version much less favourable to his people than that which Procopius heard, apparently from the Herulian mercenaries with whom he served in Italy. In the following words Paulus relates the story of the great encounter[1].

The same war as described by Paulus.

'After the Langobardi had abode in the open *Feld* for three years, war arose, upon the following occasion, between Tato, their seventh king, and Rodulf king of the Heruli[2]. The brother of King Rodulf had gone to Tato for the purpose of cementing an alliance: and when, having accomplished his embassy, he was returning to his own land, it chanced that he passed before the house of the king's daughter who was named Rumetruda. She, beholding the multitude of men and his noble train of followers[3], asked who that man could be who had such illustrious attendance: and it was told her that the brother of King Rodulf was returning to his land after accomplishing his mission. Thereupon the maiden sent to beg him to condescend to receive a cup of wine at her hand. He came, as he was asked, in all guilelessness; but because he was little of stature, the maiden looked down upon him in the haughtiness of her heart and uttered words of mockery against him. He, glowing at once with shame and indignation, replied in such wise, as brought yet greater confusion on the maiden. Then she, hot with a woman's rage and unable to repress the passion of her soul, at once set her mind on a wicked revenge. She feigned meekness, she put

[1] H. L. i. 20. [2] Paulus calls this nation Heroli. [3] Comitatum.

on a cheerful countenance, and soothing him with more pleasant words, she invited him to sit down and arranged that he should so sit as to have a window at his back. This window, apparently as a mark of honour, but really that his suspicions might not be excited, she had covered with a costly curtain: and then that cruellest she-monster commanded her servants, that when she said 'Mix' (as if speaking to the butler), they should pierce him in the back with their lances. It was done: the cruel woman gave the sign, her unjust commands were accomplished: her guest, pierced with many wounds, fell forward on the earth and expired.

'When these things were related to King Rodulf, he groaned at the cruel death of his brother, and impatient of his grief, burned to revenge so foul a murder. Breaking off, therefore, the league which he had made with Tato, he declared war against him. To be brief: the two armies met in the broad *Feld*. Rodulf drew up his men in battle array: then seating himself in his camp, having no doubt of the coming victory, he began to play at draughts [1]. And in truth the Heruli of that day were well trained in the arts of war and already famous for the manifold slaughter of their foes: although (whether it were for nimbleness in the fight or that they might show their contempt of the wounds inflicted by the enemy) they fought entirely naked, save for a girdle round their loins. The king therefore, trusting without hesitation to the valour of his soldiers, while he comfortably continued his game, told one of his followers to climb a tree which happened to be near at hand, in order that he might have the earliest possible tidings of the victory. At the same

[1] 'Dum ipse securus ad tabulam luderet.'

BOOK VI. CH. 8. time he threatened the man that he would cut off his head if he told him that the Herulian army was in flight. The man saw the ranks of the Heruli give way, he saw them being hard pressed by the Langobardi, but when asked again and again by the king, "How are my Heruli getting on?" always answered, "They are fighting splendidly." Nor did he dare to give utterance to the evil which he beheld until the whole army turned its back to the enemy. Then, at last, he broke forth into speech, "Woe to thee, wretched Herulia, who art chastened by the wrath of the Lord of Heaven!" At these words the king cried in consternation, "Is it possible that my Heruli are fleeing?" The soldier answered, "It is thou, O king, who hast said the word, not I." Then (as is wont to happen in such cases) the king and all his followers, perturbed and doubtful what to do, were sorely smitten by the in-rushing Langobardi, the king himself being slain notwithstanding a brave but fruitless resistance. The fleeing army of the Heruli—so great was the wrath of heaven upon them—when they beheld some green fields of flax, mistook them for lakes [covered with weed], and extending their arms and falling forward upon them as in act to swim were cruelly stricken by the swords of their enemies. When the victory was won, the Langobardi divided among themselves the vast spoil which they found in the enemy's camp: and Tato carried off the standard of Rodulf (which is called in their language *bandum*) and the helmet which he had been accustomed to wear in battle.

'From that time forward the valour of the Heruli so utterly collapsed that they never had a king over

them again. The Langobardi, on the other hand, enriched with plunder and increasing their army out of the various nations which they overcame, began of their own accord to seek for occasions of war, and to push forward the renown of their valour in all directions.'

So far the Langobardic Saga as related by Paulus. As before said, it is less favourable to his own people than the story of the Byzantine historian. As a drama of providential retribution it entirely fails, since the cruel and treacherous deed of Rumetruda is left unavenged. It explains, however, some things which are left obscure in the narrative of Procopius. Well might the Herulian king—perhaps himself like his brother of small stature and unmartial appearance—fear the taunts of his subjects if he left that brother's murder unavenged; and well might he, with such provocation to harden his heart, refuse the threefold petition for peace offered by the Langobardi. They, on their part, may very probably have offered a money payment, not so much on account of augmented tribute as by way of *weregild* for the murdered prince, and the triple embassy may have been due to some barbaric bargaining as to what the amount of this *weregild* should be.

Subsequent condition of the Heruli.

Though true in substance, the narrative of Paulus is not literally accurate in saying that the Heruli were kingless ever after this defeat. To lose the institution of kingship, to be without a 'leader in their glorious wars,' was in that age a mark of the last stage of national decay and demoralization, and though this calamity did for a time befall the Herulian nation, the obscuration of the kingly office was only temporary.

Procopius[1] describes their miserable wanderings to and fro after their defeat by the Langobardi. They settled at first in Rugiland, evacuated as that country was by the Rugians when they went with the Ostrogoths into Italy[2]. Driven thence, as the Langobardi before them had probably been driven, by hunger, they entered Pannonia and dwelt there as subjects of the Gepidae, paying tribute to those hard lords, and grievously oppressed by them. They then crossed the Danube, probably into Upper Moesia[3] (which forms part of the modern kingdom of Servia), and there solicited and obtained permission from the Emperor Anastasius to dwell as his loyal *foederati*. We know, on the excellent authority of the chronicler, Marcellinus Comes[4], that this reception of the Heruli within the limits of the Roman Empire took place in the year 512, and we may therefore conjecturally assign the great battle between them and the Langobardi to a date a few years earlier, between 506 and 510.

Notwithstanding the hospitality which the Heruli had received from Anastasius, that savage people soon began their usual career of crime and outrage against their civilised neighbours. Anastasius sent an army against them which utterly routed and could easily

[1] De Bello Gotthico, ii. 14.

[2] These words of Procopius are an interesting comment on the story of Frederic the Rugian. See vol. iii. pp. 188 and 230.

[3] Procopius (De Bello Gotthico, iii. 33) says 'other parts of [the Diocese of] Dacia, those round Singidunum (Belgrade), were given by the Emperor to the Heruli, who are now settled there, and overrun and ravage Illyria and Thrace to their hearts' content.' It is true that 'the Emperor' here means Justinian, not Anastasius.

[4] 'Indict. v. Paulo et Musciano coss. . . . Gens Erulorum in terras atque civitates Romanorum jussu Anastasii Caesaris introducta.' (Roncalli, ii. 312.)

have destroyed them, but in an evil hour the Emperor and his generals listened to their renewed supplications for mercy and suffered them to live. Procopius, whose bitter words we are here transcribing, regrets this clemency, for he says, 'the Heruli never were true allies to the Romans, and never did them a single good turn.' It is true that Justinian, who renewed the *foedus* with this people, brought them to make an outward profession of Christianity, and spread a little varnish of civilization over their inherent savagery. But they still remained bestial in their morality, fickle in their alliances, and in fact, says the loathing Procopius, 'they are the wickedest of all men, and utter and unredeemed scoundrels [1].' Before long they again fell out with the Empire, and the occasion of the quarrel was a curious one. They had suddenly conceived the idea that they would be henceforward kingless, and had therefore killed their king Ochon for no imaginable reason, for in truth he hardly deserved the name of king, since any of his subjects might sit down beside him, dine with him, or insult him with impunity [2]. Then, finding an absolutely anarchic existence insupportable, they changed their minds again, and sent to Thule for a prince of the blood royal to come and reign over them.

Herulian migration to Thule.

For, after the great catastrophe of the defeat of the Heruli by the Langobardi, certain of the former nation, not brooking the thought of dwelling with diminished

[1] καὶ μίξεις οὐχ ὁσίας τελοῦσιν, ἄλλας τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὄνων, καί εἰσι πονηρότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων καὶ κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολούμενοι. (De Bell. Gotth. ii. 14.)

[2] καίτοι καὶ πρότερον ὄνομα μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ἰδιώτου δὲ ὁτουοῦν οὐδέν τι σχεδὸν ἐφέρετο πλέον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυγκαθῆσθαι αὐτῷ ἅπαντες καὶ ξυσσιτοι εἶναι ἠξίουν, καὶ ἀνέδην ὅστις βούλοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν. (Ibid.)

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might in the Illyrian lands, and cherishing the old national remembrance of their Scandinavian home, had set off under the leadership of men of the royal blood to seek a new habitation by the shores of the Northern Ocean. They had passed through the lands of the Sclavonians, and then, through a great wilderness, had reached the borders of the Warini, and had travelled through their land and through all the tribes of the Danes unmolested by any of these barbarians[1]. Coming thus to the shores of the ocean, they crossed it in their barks and reached the island of Thule, where they took up their abode. Thule (by which Procopius probably wishes to designate not Iceland, but some part of the Scandinavian peninsula) is a marvellously great island, more than ten times the size of Britain, lying far off from it towards the north wind. The land is barren, but thirteen large nations, governed by as many kings, are settled therein. Procopius, though earnestly desiring to visit this remote land, had never in his busy life found opportunity to do so, but he had heard from accurate and trustworthy observers strange histories of the course of nature therein. For forty days, about the time of the summer solstice, the sun never sets over Thule, but appears, now in the eastern heaven, now in the western, and the inhabitants have to measure the day only by the reappearance of the sun in the same quarter where he shone before. Then, at the winter solstice, the sun is absolutely invisible for

[1] *μεθ' οὓς δὴ καὶ Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη παρέδραμον, οὐ βιαζομένων σφᾶς τῶν τῇδε βαρβάρων.* Jordanes is also aware of intercourse between the Danes and this Herulian colony: but he makes it of a hostile kind: 'quamvis et Dani . . . Herulos propriis sedibus expulerunt qui inter omnes Scandiae nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant praecipuum.' (De Rebus Geticis, cap. 3.)

forty days. Endless night reigns and the inhabitants, cut off from all communication with one another, are plunged in dejection and sorrow. Though the event is of yearly occurrence, they fear each year that the sun will never return to them again; but at the expiration of thirty-five days (measured by the rising and setting of the moon) they send certain of their number to the tops of high mountains to catch a glimpse of his light. When these messengers return with the glad tidings that they have seen the sun, and that in five days he will shine upon them, the inhabitants of Thule give themselves to unbounded rejoicing, and hold, all in the darkness of their land, the greatest of their national festivals[1].

A king sent for from Thule.

To this distant region, then, did the Heruli of the Danube send for a king after they had murdered the over-affable Ochon. The first who was chosen died in the country of the Danes, whereupon the ambassadors returned and persuaded Todasius to accept the distant crown. Todasius and his brother Aordus, with two hundred young men of the Heruli, set forth upon the immense journey: but long before they reached the Danubian lands, the fickle and unstable people, deeming it a disgrace to them to accept a king from Thule, had sought and obtained a king, a Herulian named Suartuas, from the Emperor Justinian. Civil war seemed imminent, but when the Arctic claimant had come within a day's journey of his rival, the minds of the people changed again. They all deserted by night to the camp of Todasius, and Suartuas, with

[1] This is no doubt the Scandinavian Yule-feast. The above description cannot be meant for Iceland, which is outside the Arctic Circle.

difficulty and alone, escaped to Constantinople. As Justinian seemed disposed to support his candidate by force of arms, the Heruli joined themselves to the confederacy of the Gepidae, who were at that time, notwithstanding their *foedus*, virtually the incessant enemies of the Empire.

It has seemed worth while to follow the fortunes of this remnant of a most savage and unattractive people, as the story illustrates what has been said in an earlier part of this history as to the relation between vigorous royalty and national success, among the Teutonic tribes[1]. The soft and pliable character of Rodulf caused him to be hurried into an unjust war, which he had not sufficient generalship to bring to a successful issue, and the disastrous end of which was fatal to the greatness of his nation. Ruin demoralized the race, and the instinct of national dignity became so deadened that they delighted in flouting the king, the representative of the greatness of the nation, and at length crowned their insults by murdering him. The spasmodic attempts to replace him by pretenders fetched from distant Norway, or begged from haughty Byzantium, all failed, and the nation, kingless, soulless and decayed, sank into a mere appendage to the monarchy of the equally barbarous but more loyal Gepidae.

[1] See vol. iii. p. 266.

§ 4. *War with the Gepidae.*

Returning to the history of Paulus, we find these two sentences as to the succession to the rude throne of the Langobardi:—

Kings after Tato.

'Tato was, shortly after the war with the Heruli, attacked and slain by his nephew WACCHO, who succeeded him. Waccho left a son, the issue of his third marriage, named WALTARI, who reigned for nine years. Then AUDOIN obtained the kingdom, who was succeeded by his son ALBOIN, the tenth [1] king of the Langobardi.'

Waccho slays Tato and succeeds to the throne

We see then that among the triumphant Langobardi also civil war and revolution soon broke out. It was not long after the great victory over the Heruli before king Tato was attacked, defeated, and slain by his nephew WACCHO [2]. The son of Tato, Risiulf, and his grandson Ildichis [3], who became at length refugees at

[1] Eleventh, according to Paulus' own list. It is suggested that he does not reckon Waccho, accounting him an usurper (?).

[2] Paulus (i. 21) makes Waccho the son of Zucchilo, brother of Tato. The German editor considers this to be a misunderstanding of the words of the Origo: 'Et occidit Wacho filius Unichis Tatonem regem barbanem suum cum Zuchilone.' *Barbanis*, or *barbanus*, is known, from the Lombard laws, to be equivalent to 'uncle.' (See Ducange, s. v.) Zucchilo, instead of being the father of Waccho, was apparently an ally either of Tato or his nephew. The words seem capable of either construction.

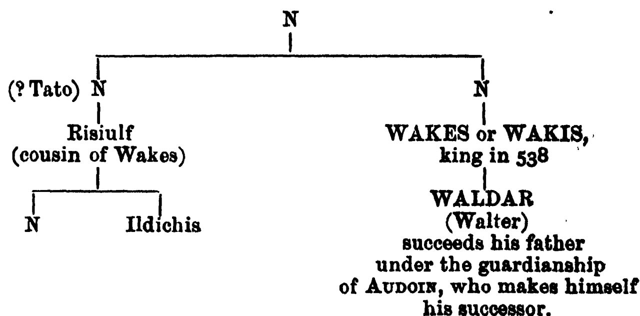
[3] Both the Origo and Paulus make Ildichis (or Hildechis) son of Tato. But Procopius, a contemporary, makes 'Ildiges' son of Risiulf, 'a cousin of Waces (Waccho), whom the law would call to the throne on his death.' This precisely describes what would be the probable position of a son of the dethroned Tato. It is much more likely that the Origo and Paulus should have omitted

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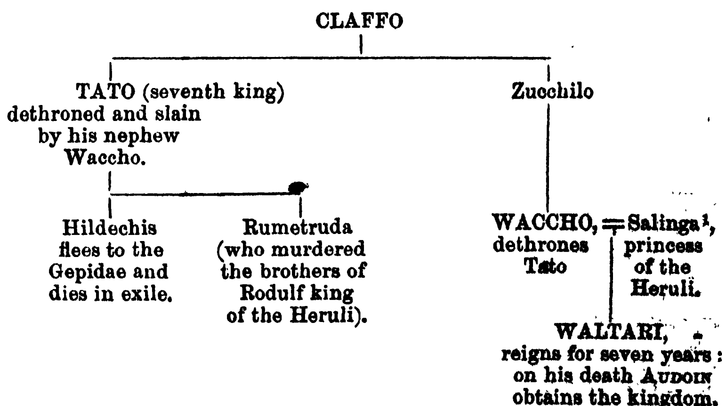
the court of the king of the Gepidae, made apparently frequent attempts to recover the throne of their progenitor, but all these attempts were vain. For thirty years Waccho ruled the Langobardic nation in

one link in the genealogy than that Procopius should have invented it; and it is not very probable that after the long reign of Waccho his first cousin would be taking so active a part in endeavouring to subvert the throne of Audoin as is ascribed to Hildechis. It may be well to exhibit the two genealogies separately.

GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO PROCOPIUS.



GENEALOGY ACCORDING TO PAULUS.



[1] Salinga was the third wife of Waccho, which accounts for her son being so young at his accession, notwithstanding the long reign of his father.

their settlement on the plains of Hungary, and he seems at last to have died in peace.

Reign of Waccho, 510–540 (?).

The long reign of Waccho is again nearly a blank in the Langobardic annals. We are told that he brought the Suavi under subjection to his yoke[1], but it is not easy to see what people are designated by this name. The Suavi, or Suevi, who dwelt in the south-western corner of Germany, called from them Suabia, are much too far off and too much involved in Frankish wars and alliances for any contest between them and the Langobardi to have been likely. More probably we have here another instance of the confusion pointed out in a previous volume[2] between Suavia and Savia: and we are thus being told of the subjugation of the inhabitants of the region between the rivers Drave and Save. Such an event must have occurred after the Ostrogothic monarchy had begun to fall asunder in ruin, since, even in the days of Athalaric, Savia was still administered in his name in accordance with rescripts issued from Ravenna[3].

In the year 539, when Witigis the Ostrogoth found himself hard pressed by Belisarius, and began, too late, to cast about him for alliances to ward off his impending doom, he sent ambassadors to Waccho,

[1] 'Eo tempore inclinavit Wacho Suavos sub regno Langobardorum.' (Origo, 4.)

[2] iii. 23, n.

[3] See Cassiodori Variae, ix. 8, 9. The chief objection to this view is that we should have expected Savienses, rather than Suavos, for 'the inhabitants of Savia.' But this word Suavi is, to my mind, one of the most perplexing riddles of the fifth and sixth centuries. For the province of Savia (first constituted by the Emperor Galerius) see the Notitia Occidentis, cap. ii. 30, and the note by Böcking, 142*–146*.

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offering him large sums of money if he would become his confederate. This, however, Waccho refused to do, having been, apparently throughout his reign, on cordial terms with the Court of Constantinople[1]. In fact, we can see in the scanty notices concerning this king a determination to strengthen himself by alliances with all his more powerful neighbours, doubtless in order to resist the pretensions, either to dethrone or to succeed him, which were put forward by the family of his predecessor. He was thrice married; the first time to a daughter of the king of the Thuringians, the second to a daughter of the king of the Gepidae, and the third to a daughter of the king of the Heruli. The last marriage only was fruitful in surviving male issue, but the two daughters of his second marriage were married to two successive kings of Austrasia, Theudebert and Theudebald: and thus these kings, who stood to one another in the relation of father and son, became brothers-in-law in right of their Langobardic wives. When at length Waccho died, probably somewhat advanced in years, he was succeeded by the child of his old age, his son by the Herulian princess Salinga, the boy-king WALTARI.

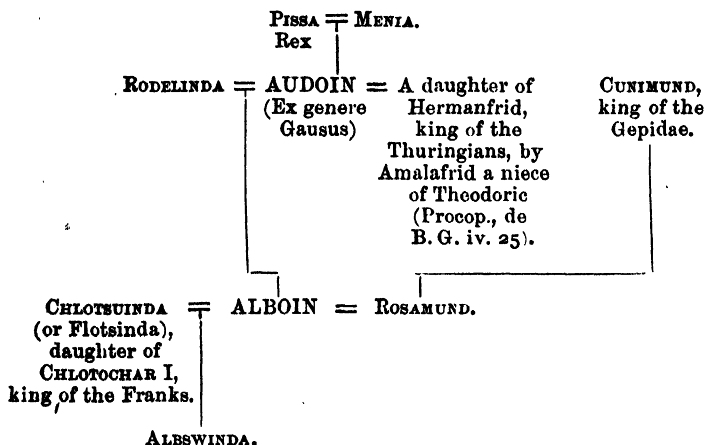
Short reign of Waltari, 540–546.

For about seven years the nominal reign of Waltari lasted, under the administration of the warrior Audoin, and then the young king died. It is distinctly stated[2] that he died of disease, and we have none of those hints of foul play which are so usual when a young king dies and is succeeded by his guardian. Thus did the dynasty of the Lithingi, to which for sixty years or more the rulers of the Langobardi had belonged,

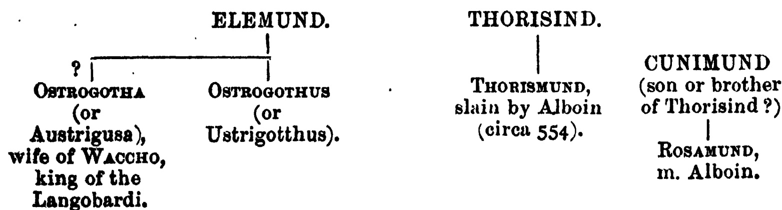
[1] Procopius, De Bell. Gotth. ii. 22.

[2] By Procopius (ibid. iii. 35).

PEDIGREE OF ALBOIN.



KINGS OF THE GEPIDAE.



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cease to reign, and AUDOIN, father of the mighty Alboin, mounted the throne[1].

Audoin, 546–565 (?).

It seems probable that the reign of Audoin lasted for about twenty years. During the greater part of that time there was a simmering feud between the Langobardi and the Gepidae, ever and anon boiling over into actual war. Mere neighbourhood was reason enough for bloodshed between two tribes so barbarous and so faithless. But in addition, there was the fact that the remnant of the conquered Heruli, henceforth the irreconcilable enemies of the Langobardi, had been received into the Gepid nationality, and there were also two pretenders to the throne of the rival nation, each one seated at the hearth of the hostile king. Ildichis, grandson of Tato, and the last descendant of the illustrious house of the Lithingi, in the intervals of his wanderings[2], which took him to the Sclavonian country, to Constantinople, even to the court of Totila, found his most abiding home in the palace of Thorisind[3], king of the Gepidae. On the other hand, Thorisind had himself a rival of whom he was in fear, the young

Feud between Langobardi and Gepidae.

[1] Audoin is said in the 'Historia Langobardorum' to have been 'Ex genere Gausus. Mater autem ejus nomine Menia uxor fuit Pissae regis.' The only explanation I can suggest of these words —and it seems a fanciful one—is that Audoin was of Ostrogothic descent, and the son of Pitzias, Theodoric's general in the war against the Gepidae about Sirmium (A.D. 504). The name Audoin is probably the same as our own English Edwin.

[2] Described by Procopius (de Bell. Gotth. iii. 35 and iv. 27). His visit to Totila took place apparently in 549, after the war which is about to be described. He had more than 6000 men under his command, with whom he defeated Lazarus, the Imperial general in Venetia. Procopius inadvertently calls him Ildegisal in iv. 27, but Ildiges in iii. 35. Doubtless the latter is the more correct form of the name.

[3] Called Turisindus by Paulus.

Ustrigotthus[1], son of his predecessor Elemund, and this pretender was a refugee at the court of Audoin.

Alliance of the Langobardi with the Empire.

To these two rival nations, whose power was so nearly equally balanced, the friendship and alliance of the great Caesar of Byzantium was a matter of supreme importance, and he was generally disposed to throw the weight of that alliance into the scale of the Langobardi, as slightly the weaker and the more remote of the two undesired neighbours. About the year 547, when the war between Totila and Justinian was dying down to its last embers, and when it was plain that either to hold or to conquer Italy alone was a task almost too heavy for either combatant, a great rearrangement of power took place in the countries under the shadow of the Alps[2]. Without any trouble the Frankish kings took possession of the greater part of Venetia, neither Goths nor Romans being able to withstand them. On the other hand, the Gepidae pressed in from the north-east, resumed possession of their once held and long-coveted city of Sirmium, and spreading themselves thence across the Danube, wrested not from Goths, but from Romans, nearly the whole of the provinces which made up the diocese of Dacia[3]. Irritated by this conduct of a people who still professed to call themselves '*foederati*' of the

[1] Dahn suggests with some probability that this Ustrigotthus or Ostrogothus may have been a brother of Austrigusa (or Ostrogotha), daughter of the king of the Gepidae, who was the second wife of the Langobard, Waccho.

[2] Our fullest information as to this rearrangement of power in the Transalpine territories is derived from Procopius (de Bell. Goth. iii. 33).

[3] Δακίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἁπάσας καταλαβόντες ἔσχον (Procop. ibid.). There can be no doubt that Procopius means by these words the later Dacia, south of the Danube.

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Empire, Justinian discontinued the subsidies[1] which he had hitherto allowed them, and, as a counterpoise to the menacing Gepid power, invited[2] the Langobardi across the Danube—not, however, to its southern, but to its western shore—and presented them with the city of Noricum[3] and other fortresses over against the Pannonian settlements of the Gepidae. This migration, which is generally described as a migration into Pannonia, but which was probably as much into Noricum as into Pannonia, was a most important event in the history of the Langobardic nation. It brought them out of the distant Hungarian plains into the countries which we now know as Styria, Salzburg, and Carinthia. Henceforward the more adventurous huntsmen and warriors of the tribe were constantly scaling mountains from which at least other mountains could be seen that looked on Italy. As Theodosius brought Alaric, so now has Justinian brought the father of Alboin to the threshold of the Imperial land[4].

Settlement in Noricum and Pannonia.

It would be a difficult and unprofitable task to endeavour to reduce into their precise chronological order the rude, chaotic struggles which took place between Langobard and Gepid during the reign of

[1] ξυντάξεις.

[2] [This is perhaps too strongly asserted. Cf. Crivellucci, Studi Storici, vol. iv. p. 392.]

[3] Probably Noreia, now Neumarkt, in the valley of the Mur.

[4] The Origo (5), followed by Paulus (ii. 7), makes the sojourn of the Langobardi in Pannonia extend over forty-two years. This calculation, however, cannot possibly be reconciled with their clear statement that the migration to Pannonia took place in the reign of Audoin. There is another reading, 'twelve years,' but this is too short. If the conjectural emendation 'twenty-two' be correct, the migration took place in 546 or 547; but this is guess-work.

Audoin. Procopius gives us one series of facts relating to them, Paulus another; and as neither writer gives us any exact dates, it is impossible to arrange them with any certainty in a consecutive history. A few scenes, however, which illustrate the habits and modes of thought of these barbarians—immeasurably ruder and more anarchic than the Goths, to whom our attention has hitherto been chiefly directed—may here be recorded.

In the first place, at some uncertain date, but probably about the year 550, we have the two tribes, 'neighbours, and therefore enemies, earnestly desiring to go to war with one another, and fixing a definite time for the encounter[1].' The Langobardi, who knew that they were outnumbered by the Gepidae, sought for a definite alliance with 'the Romans.' The Gepidae, on the other hand, who claimed to be still *foederati* of the Empire, though the *foedus* did not restrain them from occupying Dacia, south of the Danube, and laying waste Dalmatia and Illyricum as far as the city of Dyrrhachium, insisted that 'the Romans were bound either to give them active assistance, or, at the very least, to stand aside and let them fight their battle with the Langobardi unhindered.'

Langobardi and Gepidae at the Court of Justinian.

Ambassadors from the two nations arrived at Constantinople and received separate audience from Justinian. The two harangues are given at great length by Procopius[2]. There is much in them which savours of the Greek rhetorician and which is doubt-

[1] χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Γήπαιδες δὲ καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι, ἅτε δὴ ἐν γειτόνων πη ᾠκημένοι ἀλλήλοις, διάφοροι γεγένηνται ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. πολεμησείοντές τε προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι ὥργων τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι, χρόνος τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ τακτὸς ὥριστο. (Procop. de B. G. iii. 34.)

[2] De Bell. Gotth. iii. 34.

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less invented by him, but some of the pleas urged are so quaint and (in the case of the Gepidae) so impudent that we must believe that they were really uttered by the barbarians.

On the first day the Langobardi spoke. 'We are perfectly astounded,' said they, 'at the presumption of these Gepidae, whose embassy is the deadliest insult they could possibly have inflicted upon you. So long as the Ostrogoths were mighty, the Gepidae, cowering on the other side of the river, sought shelter in the Imperial alliance, received your yearly gifts, and were in all things the very humble servants of the Empire. As soon as the power of the Ostrogoths declined, when they saw them driven out of Dacia [1], while you at the same time had your hands full with the Italian war, what did these faithful allies of yours do? They spurned the Roman rule, they broke all treaties, they swarmed across your frontier, they took Sirmium, they brought its citizens into bondage, and now they boast that they are making the whole of Dacia their own. Yet in their whole history they have committed no more scandalous action than in this embassy which they are now sending you. For as soon as they perceived that we were about to make war upon them, they dared to visit Byzantium and

[1] *Γότθοι μὲν τὴν Δακῶν χώραν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχον, Γήπαιδες δὲ τοῦ Ἴστρου ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ᾤκηντο ἅπαντες . . . Ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα Γήπαιδες εἶδον Γότθους μὲν ἐκ Δακίας ἀπεληλαμένους ἁπάσης, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀσχολίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχομένους, πανταχόθεν τῆς γῆς ἐπιβατεῦσαι τῆς ὑμετέρας οἱ μιαροὶ τετολμήκασι.* It seems quite clear from these sentences that Theodoric's kingdom, at any rate after the war of Sirmium, included the whole of the Aurelianic Dacia, south of the Danube. Perhaps sufficient prominence has not hitherto been given to this fact.

to come into the presence of the prince whom they have so grievously wronged. Perhaps also, in their abundant impudence, they will dare to invite you to an alliance against us, us your faithful friends. Should the condition of such an alliance be the restoration of the lands which they have wrested from you, the Roman gratitude will be due to the real authors of this late repentance, that is to the Langobardic nation. But if they propose to restore nothing, can anything be imagined more monstrous than their presumption?

'These things we have set forth with barbaric plainness of speech, and in unadorned language, quite inadequate to the offence of which we complain. Do you, Sire, carefully weigh our words and decide on such a course of action as shall be most for the interest, both of the Romans and of your own Langobardi. Especially remember this most important point, that in things pertaining to God we are at one with you in faith. The Gepidae are Arians, and for that very reason are sure to go into the opposite camp to yours, but we hold your creed, and have therefore, from of old, been justly treated by the Romans as their friends.'

Thus spake the Langobardi. On the next day the Gepidae had audience of the Emperor. 'We admit, Sire,' said they, 'that he who proposes to a neighbour that he should form an alliance with him, is bound to show that such alliance is just and expedient. That we shall have no difficulty in proving in the present instance. The alliance is a just one, for we have been of old the *foederati* of the Romans, while the Langobardi have only of late become friendly to the Empire. Moreover, we have constantly endeavoured to settle our differences with them by

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arbitration [1]; but this, in their braggart insolence, they have always refused till now, when perceiving that we are in earnest and recognising their weakness they come whining to you for succour. And the alliance with us will be an expedient one, for any one who is acquainted with the subject knows that in numbers and martial spirit the Gepidae far surpass the Langobardi. If you choose our alliance on this occasion, grateful for your present succour, we shall follow your standard against every other foe, and the abundance of our strength will ensure you victory.

'But then these robbers pretend that Sirmium and certain other parts of Dacia are a sufficient cause of war between us and you. On the contrary, there is such a superabundance of cities and territory in your great Empire, that you have rather to look out for men on whom to bestow a portion of them. To the Franks, to the Heruli, and even to these very Langobardi, you have given such store of cities and fields as no man can number. Relying in full confidence on your friendship, we anticipated your intentions. When a man has made up his mind to part with a certain possession, how much more highly does he value the friend who reads his thought and helps himself to the intended gift (always supposing there is nothing insulting in his way of doing it), than him who passively receives his favour. Now the former is exactly the position which the Gepidae have occupied towards the Romans.

'Lay these things to heart, we entreat you. If it be

[1] δίκῃ γὰρ διαλύειν τὰ διάφορα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχομεν . . . . δίκῃ μὲν τὰ διάφορα λῦσαι, καίπερ πολλὰ προκαλουμένων ἡμῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενοι.

possible, which we earnestly desire, join us with your whole force against the Langobardi. But if that be not possible, stand aside and leave us to fight out our own quarrels.'

So ended the extraordinary harangue of the Gepidae.

Justinian sends help to the Langobardi.

After long deliberation, Justinian decided to help the Langobardi, and sent to their aid 10,000 cavalry under the command of John, nephew of Vitalian, and three other officers whose names we have met with in the Gothic wars[1]. The unstable and disorganized Heruli fought on both sides of the contest; three thousand of them, under their king's brother Aordus, helping their hosts the Gepidae, and seventeen hundred under Philemuth holding to their *foedus* with Rome and following the standards of John. Aordus and a large part of his Herulian army were slain by a detachment of the Imperial troops. Then, when the two rival nations perceived that Justinian's soldiers were really about to appear on the scene, the barbarians' dread and hatred of the great civilised Empire suddenly reassumed its old sway. The Gepid made proposals of peace and amity to the Langobard, the Langobard accepted them without the slightest reference to his Imperial ally; the quarrel was at an end, and the troops of Justinian, drawn far on into the barbarian territory and suddenly left without allies, were in imminent danger of destruction. Apparently they succeeded at length in making good their retreat, but we have no details of their escape, for Procopius leaves their story half-told.

The two nations, united by this patched-up peace,

[1] Constantian, Buzes and Aratius.

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'The Battle of the Spurs.'

soon[1] drifted again into war. Large bodies of troops, 'many myriads of men,' followed each king into the field. But before the armies were in sight of one another, a strange panic seized on either host. All the rank and file of the Langobardi, all the rank and file of the Gepidae, fled impetuously homeward, disregarding both the threats and blandishments of their leaders. Shame forbade these, the nobles of the nation, to fly; but Audoin, finding himself with only a trusty few around him, and ignorant that the enemy were in precisely the same condition, sent an embassy to Thorisind proposing conditions of peace. The ambassadors, finding this king also with only a staff and without an army, asked what had become of his people. 'They have fled,' was the answer, 'though no man pursued them.' 'The very same thing has befallen us,' said the Langobardi. 'Come, then, since this has evidently happened by a Divine interposition to prevent two great nations from destroying one another, let us obey the will of God by putting an end to the war.' And accordingly a truce for two years was concluded between the two kings.

554 (?).

Renewed alliance between the Empire and the Langobardi.

Again, perhaps at the end of this two years' truce, did the Gepid and the Langobard arm for the inevitable strife. Again, as before, both sides sought the help of Justinian, who, alarmed and angry at the conduct of the Gepidae in ferrying his Sclavonic and Hunnish enemies across the Danube, and thus laying Thrace and Moesia open to their invasions[2], first, through fear,

[1] Perhaps in 551; but Procopius, who tells the story in the 4th book of the De Bello Gotthico (18th chapter), is quite dateless here.

[2] These acts of the Gepidae are described by Procopius (iv. 18

made a solemn treaty with that nation (which was ratified by the oaths of ten Senators of Byzantium), and then in his wrath made an equally solemn treaty with the Langobardi and sent an army to their assistance. The leaders of this expedition—Justinian seems, except in the case of Belisarius and Narses, to have shrunk from entrusting one man with the supreme command of an army—were Justin and Justinian, the two sons of Germanus, and great-nephews of the Emperor[1], Aratius, the Persarmenian, who had served under Belisarius in Italy[2], Suartuas, once king of the Heruli, who had been thrust aside by the returned wanderer from Thule, and Amalafrid, son of Hermanfrid, king of the Thuringians, and great-nephew of Theodoric. This Thuringian prince had been brought in the train of Witigis from Ravenna by Belisarius, had become a noble in the Court of Justinian and an officer in his army, and his sister had been given in marriage to Audoin[3], in order to cement the alliance between the Langobardi and the Empire.

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554 (?).

Of all this many-generalled host only Amalafrid with his *comitatus* reached the dominions of his brother-in-law. The rest of the generals with their troops tarried behind at Ulpiana, to settle in Imperial fashion some theological disputes which had broken out

The Langobardi obtain a decisive victory over the Gepidae without the aid of Justinian.

and 25). I cannot help thinking that those whom he calls Kuturguri (Kotrigur Huns) in the first passage are the same as the Sclavonians of the second. It is clear that the position of the Gepidae in Dacia, south of the Danube, was one full of danger for the Empire.

[1] See vol. iv. 626 and 639.

[2] See vol. iv. 311, 327, 376.

[3] Apparently after the death of his first wife Rodelinda, the mother of Alboin. (Cp. Paulus, H. L. i. 27.)

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there, probably in connection with the controversy of the Three Chapters[1]. Thus it came to pass that in the great, long-delayed and terrible battle between the Langobardi and the Gepidae, the former nation fought practically almost single-handed. They did indeed conquer and destroy multitudes of their foes[2], but king Audoin, in sending tidings of the victory to Justinian, took care to remind him that he had not fulfilled his duties as an ally, and had ill requited the loyalty with which the Langobardi had sent their soldiers, in large numbers, into Italy to fight under the banners of Narses against Totila[3]. And in fact in that campaign, and at the decisive battle of the Apennines, Audoin himself had been present, as we have already seen, with 2500 warriors attended by their 3000 squires[4].

[1] 'For the others by command of the Emperor tarried in Illyria, at the city of Ulpiana, a sedition having broken out among the dwellers at that place, on account of the things for which the Christians quarrel among themselves, as will be said by me in my treatise on these matters' (De B. G. iv. 25). The reference is apparently to some lost work of Procopius, or perhaps to one which he never succeeded in writing. See the remarks in Dahn's Prokopius von Cäsarea, pp. 456–7.

[2] It is no doubt this battle to which Jordanes alludes at the end of his De Regnorum Successione, when he says, 'The race of the Langobardi, in alliance with the sovereigns of the Roman kingdom, and having the daughter of the sister of Theodahad joined by the Emperor in marriage to their king, fought against the Gepidae, the rivals of the Romans. The battle, which lasted for one day, spread through almost their whole camp (?), and there fell on both sides more than 6000 men. No equal battle has been heard of in our times since the days of Attila, except that which was fought by Calluc, Magister Militum, against the same Gepidae [A. D. 539], or that of Mundo [Mundus] with the Goths, in both of which the authors of the war equally fell.'

[3] See vol. iv. 705, 729.

[4] From the way in which this allusion is introduced I think we

The Gepidae are called upon to surrender Ildichis.

However, notwithstanding these complaints, the alliance between Justinian and the now victorious Langobardi lasted for the present unbroken, and the Gepidae, in a depressed and broken condition, suing for peace, were admitted to a humble place in the same confederacy. One condition, however, was needed to cement the alliance, and that was the surrender of the fugitive Ildichis, the last remnant of the old stock of the Lithingi. His life was a perpetual menace to the throne of the intruder Audoin, and, moreover, he had rendered himself obnoxious to Justinian, whose court he had deserted, whose stables he had robbed of some of their most valuable inmates, and whose officers he had slain in a well-contrived night attack on a detachment of the Imperial troops in an Illyrian forest[1]. By both Emperor and King, therefore, the surrender of Ildichis was demanded as that of a common enemy, and the Gepidae were plainly informed that, without the fulfilment of this condition, no durable peace could be concluded with them. But when Thorisind assembled the chiefs of his people[2], and earnestly entreated their advice on the question whether he should yield to the demand of these two powerful princes, the assembly absolutely refused to entertain the proposition of surrender, declaring that it was better for the Gepidae to perish out of hand with their wives and

may infer that the victory of the Langobardi over the Gepidae took place after the defeat of Totila by Narses (553), though Procopius introduces it before that event.

[1] The adventures of Ildichis (or Ildigisal) and his fellow-refugee Goar the Goth are told by Procopius (De B. G. iv. 27).

[2] *καὶ δὲ τοῖς Γηπαίδων λογίμοις κοινολογησάμενος τὰ παρόντα σπουδῇ ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ ποιητέα οἱ τὰ πρὸς τοῖν βασιλέοιν αἰτούμενα εἴη* (De B. G. iv. 27).

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children, than to consent to so impious an act as the betrayal of a guest and a fugitive. Thorisind, who was brought hereby into a most difficult dilemma, between fear of his victorious neighbours and fear of his own nobles, parried the difficulty for a time by making a counter demand from Audoin for the surrender of his rival claimant, Ustrigotthus, son of Elemund. The Langobard nobles were as unwilling to disgrace themselves by the abandonment of Ustrigotthus, as the Gepid nobles had been to countenance the abandonment of Ildichis, and so for the time both demands were refused, and the negotiation was at an end. A community of interest, however, drew the two usurpers together, and each privately got rid of the other's rival by secret assassination, in a manner so foul, that Procopius refuses to describe it[1]. The whole story is a valuable illustration of the character of Teutonic royalty, the limitations which in theory restrained it, and the means which it practically possessed of rendering those limitations nugatory.

The Saga of Alboin.

Amid these events Alboin, the son of Audoin by his first wife Rodelinda, was growing up to his memorable manhood. Tall of stature, and with a frame admirably knit for all martial exercises, he had also the strenuous aptitude for war of a born general[2]. In the great battle with the Gepidae which has been already spoken of, while the fortune of war was still uncertain, the sons of the two kings, Alboin and

[1] ἑκάτερος δὲ δόλῳ τὸν θατέρου ἐχθρὸν ἔκτεινεν, ὅντινα μέντοι τρόπον ἀφίημι λέγειν.

[2] 'Fuit autem statura procerus et ad bella peragenda toto corpore coaptatus' (Paulus, ii. 28); 'virum bellis aptum et per omnia strenuum' (Ibid. i. 27).

Thorismund, met in single combat. Drawing his great broad-sword, the Langobard prince cut down his Gepid rival, who fell from his horse lifeless. It was the sight of the death of this their bravest champion which struck terror into the hearts of the Gepidae and gave the victory and abundance of spoil to the Langobardi. When these returned in triumph to their homes they suggested to king Audoin that the son, by whose valour so conspicuous a victory had been wrought, was surely worthy now to take a seat at his father's table as King's Guest[1]: and that he who had shared the royal peril might justly share in the royal conviviality. 'Not so,' replied the tenacious king, 'lest I violate the customs of our nation. For ye know that it is not according to our manners that a king's son should dine with his father, until he has received his arms from the king of some foreign people[2].'

Alboin's visit to the Gepid court.

When Alboin heard these words of his father he took with him forty young men of his *comitatus* and rode to the court of Thorisind, his father's recent foe. Having explained the object of his visit, he was courteously received and placed at the king's table in the seat of honour on his right hand. But Thorisind, though he thus complied with the laws of barbaric courtesy and recognized Alboin's right to claim adoption at his hands, was filled with melancholy when he saw the slayer of Thorismund sitting in Thorismund's seat. In one of the pauses of the long banquet he

[1] *Conviva regis*, a technical expression in the German codes.

[2] See an instance of this adoption in Cassiodori Variae, iv. 2. Theodoric adopts the king of the Heruli as his son in arms. 'Per arma fieri posse filium, grande inter gentes constat esse praeconium; quia non est dignus adoptari, nisi qui fortissimus meretur agnosci.'

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heaved a deep sigh and his grief broke forth in words: 'That place is to me ever to be loved, but the person who now sits in it is grievous to behold.' Stirred by these words of his father, the king's surviving son began to taunt the Langobardi with clumsy sarcasms, derived from the white gaiters which they wore wrapped round the leg below the calf. 'You are like stinking white-legged mares[1],' was the insult addressed to his father's guest by the Gepid prince. One of the Langobardi hurled back the taunt: 'Go,' said he, 'to the plain of Asfeld. There you will find out plainly enough how those mares can kick, when you see your brother's bones, like those in a knacker's yard, scattered over the meadows.' At these words the Gepidae started up trembling with rage: the Langobardi clustered together for defence: all hands were at the hilts of the swords. The king, however, leaped up from the table and threw himself between the combatants, threatening terrible vengeance on the first of his subjects who should begin the fray, and declaring that a victory earned over his guests in his own palace would be abomination in the sight of God. With these words he at length allayed the storm, and Gepid and Langobard returned with smoothed brows to the wassail bowl, the guttural-sounding song, and all the joys of the interrupted banquet. Thus did Alboin receive from Thorisind the arms of the dead Thorismund, and returning to his home was welcomed as a guest at his father's table, all voices

[1] 'Asserens eos quia a suris inferius candidis utebantur fasceolis, equabus quibus crure tenus pedes albi sunt similes esse, dicens "Fetilae sunt equae quas similatis"' (Paulus, i. 24). 'Fetilae' has puzzled the copyists: but the German editor connects it with *foeteo*, to stink.

being raised in praise of Alboin's valour and the faith—it is hard not to write the knightly faith—of Thorisind. BOOK VI. CH. 8.

About ten years after these events (if we have read the chronology aright) Audoin died, and Alboin, on whom the nation's hopes were fastened, ascended the throne. Thorisind had meantime been succeeded by Cunimund[1], who was perhaps a brother of the deceased king of the Gepidae. 565 (?).

It was by a new political combination and by the aid of an altogether new actor on the scene, that the long duel between the two nations was terminated. In the closing years of the reign of Justinian, a fresh horde of Asiatics, apparently of Hunnish origin, but who assumed the name of Avars—a name which for some reason was already terrible—entered Europe, menaced the Empire, extorted large subsidies from the aged Emperor, and even penetrated westwards as far as Thuringia, bent on battle with the Frankish kings. These rude successors of Attila's warriors did, in fact, erect a kingdom far more enduring than his, for it was not till the close of the eighth century that the power of the Avars received its death-blow from the hands of Pippin, son of Charles the Great. The head of this barbarous race bore the title of Chagan (Khan), and the first Chagan of the Avars was named Baian. With him Alboin made a compact of a curious kind, and one The Avars appear upon the scene.

[1] As far as I can see, Cunimund is nowhere called son of Thorisind, nor identified with the author of the joke about the white-legged mares. Paulus only says, 'Obiit interea Turisindus rex Gepidorum, *cui successit Cunimundus in regno.*' It seems to me unlikely that the father of Rosamund, Alboin's wife, should be a younger brother of Thorismund, who is spoken of as his contemporary.



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566 (?). Alliance of Avars and Langobardi.

which seems to show that hatred of the Gepidae had blunted the edge of the land-hunger of the barbarian [1]. 'Let us combine to crush out of existence these Gepidae, who now lie between your territories and mine. If we win, yours shall be all their land and half of the spoils of war. Moreover, if I and my people cross over the Alps into Italy and conquer that land, all this province of Pannonia wherein we now dwell shall be yours also [2].' The league was made: the com-

[1] We get the account of this compact chiefly from Menander (Fr. 24 and 25, ap. Müller). 'Alboin, king of the Langobardi, still nourishing his hatred to the Gepidae, and determined on their overthrow, sent ambassadors to Baian to propose an alliance. These ambassadors urged the wrongs which the Avars had suffered from the Gepidae in past times, but dwelt especially on their present alliance with the Romans, whose Emperor [Justin], breaking the treaties made by his uncle, was depriving the Avars of their promised subsidies. They added that the Avars and Langobardi united would be irresistible, and might enjoy the territory and wealth of the Gepidae in common. Scythia and Thrace would then lie open to them and they might carry their victorious arms as far as to Byzantium itself... To these representations, Baian, in order to make as good a bargain as possible, listened with an appearance of haughty indifference. At one time he said that he could not accept the proposed alliance if he would, and at another that he would not if he could. But at length, after he had practised every artifice of this kind, he consented, but only on condition that the Langobardi should at once hand over to him the tenth part of their live-stock and that, in the event of victory, the Avars should receive half of the spoils and the whole of the Gepid territory.' The further bargain about Italy is mentioned by Paulus, and perhaps in strictness belongs to a slightly later date. 'Tunc Alboin sedes proprias, hoc est Pannoniam, amicis suis Hunnis contribuit, eo scilicet ordine ut, si quo tempore Langobardis necesse esset reverti, sua rursus arva repeterent' (H. L. ii. 7).

[2] [It is probably wrong to import into the Lombard-Avar agreement for war against the Gepidae this hint about Italian conquests.

bined invasion took place: Cunimund heard that the terrible Avars had burst the barrier of the Eastern Carpathians, then that the Langobardi had crossed the Danube and the Theiss and were assailing him from the west. Broken in spirit and in sore distress from the difficulties of his position[1] he turned to fight against the older and more hated foes. 'Let us fight,' said he to his warriors, 'with the Langobardi first, and if we vanquish them we shall without doubt drive the Huns forth out of our fatherland.' The battle was joined. Both sides put forth all their strength, and the Langobardi with such success and such fury that of all the Gepid host scarce one remained to tell the tale of his nation's overthrow.

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567 (?).

Overthrow of the Gepidae.

Alboin himself slew Cunimund in a hand-to-hand encounter, and, like the untutored savage that he was, cut off his head and fashioned his skull into a drinking-cup, which ever after at solemn festivals was handed to the king full of wine, and recalled to his exultant heart the memory of that day's triumph[2].

Cunimund's skull.

Nor was this the only trophy carried from the land of the Gepidae to the palace of Alboin. His first wife, Chlotsuinda, daughter of the Frankish king Chlotochar, had died, and Rosamund, daughter of Cunimund, was

and the abandonment of Pannonia. Cf. Crivellucci, Studi Storici, vol. iv. p. 400.]

[1] 'Prostratus animo et utrimque in angustiis positus' (Paulus, i. 27). All this looks to me more like an elderly brother than a young son of Thorisind.

[2] 'In eo proelio Alboin Cunimundum occidit, caputque illius sublatum ad bibendum ex eo poculum fecit. Quod genus poculi apud eos "scala" dicitur, lingua vero Latina "patera" vocitatur.' [O. H. G. *scala*, modern German *Schale*, Old Norse *skāl*, a drinking-bowl. Cf. Oxford English Dict. s. vv. 'skoal', 'shale', sb. 1.]

BOOK VI. CH. 3.

selected by the conqueror to fill her place at the high-seat beside him[1]. What seemed to the barbarians vast stores of wealth, taken from the Gepid dwellings, enriched the Langobardic homes. The Gepidae, on the other hand, were so depressed and enfeebled that they never thenceforward dared to choose a king of their own, but dragged out an inglorious existence either as subjects of the Langobardi, or in their own fatherland under the hard yoke of the brutal Avars.

Such was the fate of the third nation in the Gothic confederacy, which so many centuries ago, in its laggart ship, made the voyage from Scandinavia to the Livonian shore[2].

[1] According to a somewhat obscure notice in Theophylact (vi. 10), Alboin, after his accession to the Langobardic throne, forcibly carried off the daughter of Cunimund, whom he loved, but had wooed unsuccessfully. This led to war, in which Cunimund, having received succour from Justin II, gained the victory. The story here given cannot easily be reconciled with the account given by Paulus. It is true that Theophylact (who is believed to have written in the reign of Heraclius, 610–641) is much more nearly a contemporary than Paulus, but his story is a confused one and is put into the mouth of a Gepid criminal, who, to hide an act of theft, was weaving together lie upon lie (*ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐπισυνάπτει πλάσματα πλάσματι*), and who was convicted of claiming a share in battles which were fought before he was born. On the whole it seems to me that we may here prefer Lombard saga to Byzantine gossip.

[2] See vol. i. p. 47 (p. 33, second edition).

In order not to encumber the text with the theories of German scholars on this subject, I insert the chief of them here.

I. *Zeuss* (Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme) is so careful an enquirer, and is so well acquainted with the details given us by Greek and Roman geographers as to all the German tribes, that one always differs from him with reluctance.

He seems inclined to make *Mauringa* = the flat country eastward from the Elbe, connecting it with *Moor* and other kindred words. For *Golanda* he takes an alternative reading (not well supported by MS. authority), Rugulanda, and suggests that it may be the coast opposite the isle of Rügen. *Anthaib* is the *pagus* of the Antae who, on the authority of Ptolemy and Jordanes, are placed somewhere in the Ukraine, in the Dniester and Dnieper countries: *Banthaib* he gives up as hopeless, *Burgundaib* he connects with the Urugundi of Zosimus (i. 27 and 31), whom he seems inclined to place in Red Russia, between the Vistula and the Bug (p. 695). These names, he thinks, 'lead us in the direction of the Black Sea, far into the eastern steppes,' and he connects this supposed eastward march of the Langobardi with their alleged combats with the Bulgarians.

II. Dr. Friedrich *Bluhme*, in his monograph 'Die Gens Langobardorum und ihre Herkunft' (Bonn, 1868), places the primeval home of the Langobardi in the extreme north of Denmark, in the peninsula or rather island formed by the Limfiord, which still bears the name *Wend-syssel.* (This he connects with the original name of the tribe, *Winnili.*) Thence he brings them to Bardengau on the left bank of the Elbe. I think he accepts the identification *Scoringa* = Bardengau. He places the Assipitti (the tribe who sought to bar the further progress of the Langobardi) in the neighbourhood of Asse, a wooded height near Wolfenbüttel. He rejects the identification of *Mauringa* with Holstein, and the reference to the Geographer of Ravenna,

NOTE A. and thinks that we have a trace of the name in Moringen near Northeim, at the foot of the Harz mountains. But he makes them wander still further westwards and Rhinewards, chiefly relying on the passage of Ptolemy, which places them in close neighbourhood with the Sigambri. He considers this allocation to be singularly confirmed by the *Chronicon Gothanum*, which says that they stayed long at Paderborn ('locus ubi Patespruna cognominantur'). Thus he contends for a general migration of the tribe from Eastphalia (Bardengau) to Westphalia; and considers this theory to be strengthened by the great resemblance between the family names of Middle Westphalia and those of Bardengau: between the legal customs of Soest (in Westphalia) and those of Lübeck, and between these two sets of customs and the Lombard Edict.

Bluhme does not offer much explanation of the difficult names *Golanda*, *Anthaib*, *Banthaib*, and *Burgundaib*, except that he thinks the last was the territory evacuated by the Burgundians when they moved westwards to the Middle Rhine. He puts the migration of the Langobardi to the borders of Bohemia about 373, and thinks that the election of their first king Agelmund was contemporary therewith. He observes that the ruins of the palace of king Waccho (who reigned at the beginning of the sixth century) were still to be seen at Beowinidis, i. e. in Bohemia, probably at Camberg, S.E. of Prague, in the year 805 (Chronicon Moissiacense, s. a.).

Rugiland = Moravia. *Feld* = the March-feld bordering it on the south.

III. Dr. Ludwig *Schmidt*, 'Zur Geschichte der Langobarden' (Leipzig, 1885), contests some of Dr. Bluhme's conclusions. His reasoning seems to be generally sound, but his tone is over-confident.

Schmidt expresses himself very positively as to the High-German character of the Langobardic race. He disbelieves their Scandinavian origin, and thinks that it may have been suggested by the similarity of names of the Sueones and Suevi (?). At the same time he goes carefully into the discussion of the name Scandinavia, and rejecting Bluhme's suggestion as to the north of Jutland, he thinks that the legend points to Schonen in the south of Sweden, as the original home of the Langobardi.

Notwithstanding the language of Strabo and the line in the 'Traveller's Song' which mentions the Headhobeardan (= Langobardi) as dwelling by the Baltic coast, he believes that their abiding home was on the left bank of the Elbe, and he agrees with the majority of enquirers in placing it in Bardengau. NOTE A.

He appears to think that after the Langobardi and Obii (= Aviones) had made their unsuccessful attempt on Pannonia in 165 they recrossed Germany to their old homes at the mouth of the Elbe. He puts the final migration of the Langobardi from the Elbe to the Danube in the middle of the fifth century.

The *Assipitti* he thinks not worth enquiring into.

Mauringa = the country between the Elbe and the Oder, or perhaps Holstein.

Considering the frequent looseness and inconsistency of Ptolemy's assertions, he attaches no importance to his statement that the Langobardi were next-door neighbours to the Sigambri, and observes that, even if true, it would not help Bluhme's Westphalian theory, as the statement is, that they were on the *south* of the Sigambri, that is, considerably further up the Rhine.

Golanda probably = Gotland, but means simply 'good-land.'

Anthab (or Anthaib) he connects through the Aenenas of the 'Traveller's Song' with Bavaria;

Banthaib (or Baynaib) with the Boii and Bohemia;

Burgundaib with the remnants of the Burgundians in the lands east of the Elbe.

In all these lands the Langobardi made the remaining inhabitants their *Aldiones*, that is, their tributary subjects. They occupied *Rugiland* in 489. Gladly would they have gone into Noricum on the opposite shore of the Danube, but that was blocked against them by the Bajuvarii.

Feld = the flat country between the Theiss and the Danube. The Gepidae were at this time in the old Roman province of Dacia, the Heruli north of the Danube between the March river and the Neograden mountains.

IV. A. *Westrum*, in his monograph 'Die Longobarden und ihre Herzöge' (Celle, 1886), amuses if he does not greatly instruct us. He accepts enthusiastically the allocation of the Langobardi

NOTE A. to Bardengau, and thinks it is still possible to trace the sites of the houses of Ibor and Aio at Lüneberg, by the special privileges in connection with the Saltworks which were long continued to the houses known as *Bernding* and *Eying*. Bernding is derived from Ibor = Eber = Bar, a word whose root-idea was 'man,' but which came also to signify 'boar' or 'bear.' Hence, Bardo, Berengarius, and (by translation into Latin) Ursus and the family of the Orsini. Albert *the Bear*, the founder of the Ascanian line of the Electors of Brandenburg, was probably a descendant of Ibor, and gave his own name to his capital *Berlin*. Through him Katherine II of Russia (a princess of Anhalt) is brought to swell the great procession. The author regrets that he cannot include Prince Bismarck among the descendants of the Langobard duke; but the great financial house of Baring Brothers, with the three British peerages which it has acquired, and the fame of Count Orsini, who threw the bombs which launched Napoleon III on his war for the liberation of Italy, in some degree console him for his failure. It must surely be by an oversight that the hardy navigator who gave his name to Behring's Straits is omitted from the list of the descendants of Duke Ibor.

V. *Von Stoltzenberg Luttmersen*, in his essay 'Die Spuren der Longobarden vom Nordmeer bis zum Donau' (Hannover, 1889), goes much more thoroughly into the question of the wanderings of the Langobardi, and his history of Bardengau in the early Middle Ages, and of the destruction of its capital Bardowick by Henry the Lion, is full and yet concise.

He makes the Langobardi a Low-German tribe, migrating from Schonen (on the southern shores of Sweden) to the mouth of the Elbe, probably in the first or second century before Christ. He thinks that they may have come, like Hengist and Horsa, ostensibly as allies to the indigenous German tribes in that region (being themselves a race somewhat superior in the arts both of peace and war), and that their wars in this capacity against the Sclavonic Wends of Pomerania are represented by the battle with the Vandals, of which the Saga tells us. The settlements of the Langobardi, which he believes to have been solitary forts near the marshes (somewhat resembling those of the Lake-dwellers), he takes to be represented by modern towns and villages with the termination *-ingen*, of which there

are a large number in Eastphalia, and finding a remarkably similar cluster of places ending in *-ingen* in East Swabia, from Donaueschingen to Nördlingen, he founds his theory chiefly on this coincidence. But he also relies on the before-mentioned passage from Ptolemy as to a settlement of the Langobardi on the Rhine, southward from the Sigambri, and contends that their migration was not eastward towards the Oder, nor southward into Thuringia (according to Bluhme's theory), but south-westward to the banks of the Upper Rhine. Then, attacking the difficult passage of the Origo ('et postea possederunt aldonus Anthaib et Bainaib seu et Burgundaib'), he interprets it as meaning that the Langobardi were themselves Aldiones or tributaries, not that they reduced other races to that condition. 'Under what dominion,' he asks, 'could they have thus occupied territory after territory, themselves always remaining Aldiones?' He replies, 'Only under the Empire,' and accordingly he suggests that we have here a *résumé* of the history of the Langobardi during the time that they dwelt as *foederati* under the sway of Rome. Relying on the two arguments before mentioned, he thinks that this settlement of theirs as *foederati* was in the Agri Decumates (part of the Empire beyond the Rhine, nearly corresponding to Baden and Würtemberg). He does not attempt to fix the exact position of 'Anthaib,' 'Bainaib,' and 'Burgundaib,' but thinks that 'Burgundaib'='the valley of forts [burgi]' and was perhaps in the region of the Rauhes Alp (in Würtemberg). He notes the fact, which is certainly an interesting one, that the Swiss in Thurgau and St. Gall call any old wall, the builders of which are unknown to them, 'Longobarden-mauer': and he claims for the Langobardi that they were important members of the Alamannic confederacy which occupied Swabia, as well as of the Saxon confederacy which was so powerful in the north. Then launching out into that region of speculation into which some of our German enquirers are a little too apt to wander, he suggests that from the Langobardi may have sprung three great imperial or royal houses, the Hohenstaufens, the Guelfs, and the Hohenzollerns, besides their more substantial claim to have given birth to a Doria and a Garibaldi. And in some way, which is not very clear to me, the fact that they sprang from the Elbelands and became masters of Italy, is made a justification or

NOTE A.

NOTE A. a prophecy, or a type of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy.

The monograph is interesting and carefully written, but there seems to me an entire lack of historical evidence for the alleged Swabian settlement of the Langobardi: and, like almost all the other writers on this subject, Herr von Stoltzenberg gives, I think, too little heed to the clear statement of Petrus Patricius, that in A.D. 165, 6000 of the Langobardi and their allies crossed the Danube into Pannonia. This was a large number for a little tribe (of whom Tacitus wrote, 'Langobardos paucitas nobilitat'); and though some may have remained, and probably did remain, behind in Bardengau, it seems reasonable to suppose that these Langobardi on the Danubian frontier were the bulk of the nation, or at any rate—for this is the matter in which we are concerned—were the ancestors of the Langobardi who moved into 'Rugiland' near the end of the fifth century, and invaded Italy under Alboin in the sixth century. I see no evidence of a return of these Langobardi from the Danube-lands to the Elbe-lands in the third or fourth century, and much presumptive argument against it.

NOTE B. Extract from the Codex Gothanus.

The opening and closing paragraphs of the Codex Gothanus (described at the beginning of chap. iii) are so utterly different from the Origo and the history of Paulus, that, instead of attempting to weave them into one narrative therewith, I prefer to give a separate translation of them here.

'§ 1. The fore-elders of the Langobardi assert "per Gambaram parentem suam pro quid exitus aut movicio seu visitatio eorum fuisset, deinter serpentibus parentes eorum breviati exissent[1]," a rough and bloody and lawless progeny. But coming into the land of Italy they found it flowing with milk and honey, and, what is more, they found there the salvation of baptism, and receiving the marks of the Holy Trinity, they were made of the number of the good. In them was fulfilled the saying, "Sin is

[1] I cannot pretend to translate this sentence.

not imputed where there is no law." At first they were ravening wolves, afterwards they became lambs feeding in the Lord's flock: therefore should great praise and thanks be brought to God who hath raised them from the dung-hill and set them in the number of the just, thereby fulfilling the prophecy of David, "He raiseth the needy from the dung-hill, and maketh him to sit with the princes of the earth." Thus did the aforesaid Gambara assert concerning them[1] (not prophesying things which she knew not, but, like the Pythoness or Sibyl[2], speaking because a divine visitation moved her), that "the thorn should be turned into a rose." How this could be she knew not, unless it were shown to her by God[3]. She asserts, therefore, that they will go forth, moved not by necessity, nor by hardness of heart[4], nor by the oppression of parents, but that they may obtain salvation from on high. It is a wonderful and unheard-of thing to behold such salvation shining forth, when there was no merit in their parents, so that from among the sharp blades of the thorns the odorous flowers of the churches were found. Even as the compassionate Son of God had preached before, "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners" [to repentance]. These were they of whom the Saviour Himself spake in proverbs [parables] to the Jews, "I have other sheep, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring to seek for the living water."'

'§ 2. Here begins the origin and nation or parentage of the Langobardi, their going forth and their conversion, the wars and devastations made by their kings, and the countries which they laid waste.

'There is a river which is called Vindilicus, on the extreme boundary of Gaul: near to this river was their first dwelling and possession. At first they were Winili by their own proper name and parentage: for, as Jerome[5] asserts, their name was afterwards changed into the common word Langobardi, by reason of their profuse and always unshaven beards. This aforesaid river Ligurius flows into the channels of the river Elbe, and

[1] 'Cum eisdem movita (?) adserebat.'
[2] 'Sed phitonissa inter Sibillae cognomina.'
[3] 'Nesciens in qualia, nisi divinandum perspicerit.'
[4] I.e. not by oppressors driving them forth from their own land.
[5] Really Isidore in his Etymologica, ix. 226. I take the reference from Waitz.

NOTE B. loses its name [1]. After the Langobardi went forth, as has been before said (?), from the same shore, they placed their new habitations at first at Scatenauge on the shore of the river Elbe: then still fighting, they reached the country of the Saxons, the place which is called Patespruna, where, as our ancient fathers assert, they dwelt a long time, and they encountered wars and dangers in many regions. Here too they first raised over them a king named Agelmund. With him they began to fight their way back to their own portion in their former country, wherefore in Beovinidis they moved their army by the sound of clanging trumpets to their own property [2]: whence to the present day the house and dwelling of their king Wacho still appear as signs [3]. Then requiring a country of greater fertility, they crossed over to the province of Thrace, and fixed their inheritance in the country of the city (*sic*) of Pannonia [4]. Here they struggled with the Avars, and waging many wars with them with most ardent mind, they conquered Pannonia itself. And the Avars made with them a league of friendship, and for twenty-two years they are said to have lived there.'

From this point to the accession of Rothari, A. D. 636, the text of the Codex Gothanus coincides very nearly with that of the Origo. It then proceeds as follows:—

'§ 7. Rothari reigned sixteen years: by whom laws and justice were begun for the Langobardi: and for the first time the judges went by a written code, for previously all causes were decided by custom (*cadarfada*) and the judge's will, or by ordeal (?) (*ritus*) [5]. In the days of the same king Rothari, light arose in the darkness: by whom the aforesaid Langobardi

[1] 'Hic supradictus Ligurius fluvius Albiae fluvii canalis inundans, et nomen finitur.' Evidently something is omitted, as the Ligurius has not been mentioned before.

[2] 'Unde in Beovinidis aciem et clauses (classes?) seu tuba clangencium ad suam proprietatem perduxerunt.' Quite untranslatable. See reference to Beowinidis in § 9.

[3] 'Unde usque hodie praesentem diem Wachoni regi eorum domus et habitatio apparet signa.' A most incomprehensible sentence: and why introduced here? Four kings are mentioned after this before Wacho appears on the scene.

[4] 'In Pannoniae urbis patriam suam hereditatem affixerunt.'

[5] 'Per quem leges et justiciam Langobardis est inchoata: et per conscriptionem primis judices percurrerunt: nam antea per cadarfada et arbitrio seu ritus fierunt causationes.'

directed their endeavours to the canonical rule[1], and became helpers of the priests.' NOTE B.

[§ 8 contains the durations of the kings' reigns from Rodwald to Desiderius.]

'§ 9. Here was finished the kingdom of the Langobardi, and began the kingdom of Italy, by the most glorious Charles, king of the Franks, who, as helper and defender of lord Peter, the prince of the Apostles, had gone to demand justice for him from Italy. For no desire of gain caused him to wander, but he became the pious and compassionate helper of the good: and though he might have demolished all things, he became their clement and indulgent [preserver]. And in his pity he bestowed on the Langobardi the laws of his native land, adding laws of his own as he deemed fit for the necessities of the Langobardi: and he forgave the sins of innumerable men who sinned against him incessantly. For which Almighty God multiplied his riches a hundredfold. After he had conquered Italy he made Spain his boundary: then he subdued Saxony: afterwards he became lord of Bavaria, and over innumerable nations spread the terror of his name. But at last, as he was worthy of the Empire's honour, he obtained the Imperial crown; he received all the dignities of the Roman power, he was made the most dutiful son of lord Peter, the apostle, and he defended Peter's property from his foes. But after all these things he handed over the kingdom of Italy to his great and glorious son, lord Pippin, the great king, and as Almighty God bestowed the grace of fortitude on the father, so did it abound in the son, through whom the province of Thrace (!), together with the Avars, was brought into subjection to the Franks. They, the aforesaid Avars, who were sprung from a stock which is the root of all evil, who had ever been enemies of the churches and persecutors of the Christians, were, as we have said, by the same lord Pippin, to his own great comfort and that of his father, expelled and overcome: the holy churches were defended, and many vessels of the saints which those cruel and impious men had carried off, were by the same defender restored to their proper homes. Then the cities of the Beneventan province, as they deserved for their violation of their

[1] 'Ad cannonicam (*sic*) tenderunt certamina.'

NOTE B. plighted oath, were wasted and made desolate by fire, and their inhabitants underwent the capital sentence. After these things, he also went to Beowinidis (?) with his army and wasted it, and made the people of that land a prey, and carried them captive. Therefore also by his orders his army liberated the island of Corsica, which was oppressed by the Moors. At the present day by his aid Italy has shone forth as she did in the most ancient days. She has had laws, and fertility, and quietness, by the deserving of our lord [the Emperor], through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.'

CHAPTER IV.

ALBOIN IN ITALY.

Authorities.

Sources :—

PAULUS DIACONUS, who in this part of his history has evidently borrowed largely from SECUNDUS of Trient, while adding many picturesque details from the Sagas of his nation.

AGNELLUS, 'Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis' (described in the first volume).

Guides :—

For guidance through this part of the history, and especially for careful examination of the difficult chronological questions which present themselves, I am much indebted to *Dr. Julius Weise's* monograph, 'Italien und die Langobarden-herrscher von 568 bis 628' (Halle, 1887).

There are some very useful papers on Lombard chronology in *Studi Storici*, a periodical commenced at Pisa in 1892, under the direction of Professors Amedeo Crivellucci and Ettore Pais.

THUS have we followed the fortunes of the Langobardi, or, as I shall now for convenience call them, the LOMBARDS[1], from their dim original on the shores of the Baltic, till they stood on the crest of the Julian Alps, looking down with lustful eyes on the land which had once been the Mistress of the World, but which now lay all but defenceless before them.

Were the Lombards a Low-German or High-German people?

We may briefly summarise all that can be ascertained of their social and political condition on the day when, according to the Saga, the messengers of Narses appeared in Alboin's banqueting hall, bearing

[1] See Note C at end of this chapter.

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the grapes and the citrons of Italy. There is some difference of opinion as to the ethnological position of the Lombards. One German scholar, who, by his life-long devotion to philological study, claims our respectful attention[1], contends strongly for their Low-German character, basing his argument, not only on the traditions mentioned in the previous chapter, which connect them (in his opinion) with the Danish peninsula, but also (which is more especially interesting to us) on the extraordinary correspondence of Lombard words, customs and laws with those of the Anglo-Saxons. Another and younger authority[2] (following, it is true, in the train of the venerable Jacob Grimm) says, in somewhat haughty tone, 'That the Lombards belonged to the West Germans, and to the High-German branch of that people, no one can now any longer deny.' Both he and Grimm were led to this conclusion chiefly by the High-German character of the Lombard names and the few relics which have been preserved to us of the language. The gift of the bridegroom to the bride, which was called in Low-German *Morgen-gabe*, is in the Lombard laws *morgincap*; the Anglo-Saxon *Alfwine* is apparently the same name as the Lombard *Alboin*; the judge who, in Gothic, is called *sculdhaita*[3], is, among the Lombards, *sculdhaizo*; and so with many other words. In all

[1] Friedrich Bluhme, 'Die Gens Langobardorum und ihre Herkunft' (Bonn, 1868), p. 8. See his dedication to Bethmann-Hollweg, alluding to their joint studies in 1858, and the reference in the second part of the same work (Bonn, 1874) to a conversation with an Italian *savant* fifty years before (p. 4).

[2] Dr. Ludwig Schmidt, 'Zur Geschichte der Langobarden,' (Leipzig, 1885), p. 74.

[3] So says Schmidt, but *sculdhaita* (or *skuldhaita*) does not appear in Massmann's Gothic word-list.

these the Lombard language seems to affect that form which, according to Grimm's well-known law, marks the High-German (say the Swabian or Bavarian) manner of speech, rather than the Low-German, which was practised by Goths, Frisians and Angles.

Probably of Low-German stock, but modified by long contact with High-German.

Where such authorities differ, it would be presumptuous in the present writer to express an opinion, but I may remark that to me the philological facts seem to correspond in a remarkable degree with what we have already learned from our authorities concerning the early history of the people. We have in the Lombards, as I venture to think, a race originally of Low-German origin, coming from the coasts and islands of the Baltic, and closely akin to our own Anglo-Saxon forefathers. So far, the case seems clear ; and probably the Lombards spoke a pure Low-German dialect when they dwelt in Bardengau by the Elbe, and when they fought with the Vandals. But then, by about the middle of the second century after Christ, they gravitated towards the great Suevic confederation, and visited, in its train, the lands on the Middle Danube, where (if I read their history aright) they remained more or less persistently for nearly four hundred years. This surely was a long enough time to give a Suevic, that is a Swabian or High-German, character to their speech, sufficient time for them to change their B's into P's, their G's into K's, and their T's into Z's, before they emerged into the world of book-writing and book-reading men.

Dress and appearance of the Lombards.

Of the dress and appearance of the Lombards at the time of their invasion of Italy we have a most precious trace in the words of their great historian,

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and here again that connection, so interesting to us, between them and our own forefathers, comes into view.

'At Modicia[1],' says Paulus[2], 'queen Theudelinda built a palace for herself [about the year 600], in which she also caused some representation to be made of the deeds of the Lombards. In this picture it is clearly shown how at that time the Lombards cut the hair of their heads, and what was their dress, and what their habit. For, in truth, they made bare the neck, shaving it up to the back of the head, having their hair let down from the face as far as the mouth, and parting it on either side from the forehead[3]. But their garments were loose and for the most part made of linen, such as the Anglo-Saxons[4] are wont to wear, adorned with borders woven in various colours. Their boots[5] were open almost to the extremity of the great toe, and kept together by crossing boot-laces[6]. Later on, however, they began to use hosen[7], over which the riders drew waterproof leggings[8]. But this fashion

[1] Monza.

[2] H. L. iv. 22.

[3] 'Siquidem cervicem usque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillos a facie usque ad os dimissos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant.'

[4] 'Qualia Anglisaxones habere solent' (said to be the first appearance in literature of the name Anglo-Saxon).

[5] Calcei.

[6] 'Et alternatim laqueis corrigiarum retenti.' There was probably something in the appearance of these laced boots which suggested to the young Gepid prince the uncourteous comparison of his father's Lombard guests to 'white-legged mares.' See p. 136.

[7] Osis.

[8] 'Tubrugos birreos.' There is some difficulty in ascertaining the precise meaning of *birreus*, as birrus is sometimes connected with the Greek πυῤῥός and understood to mean scarlet colour. But the explanation, quoted in Waitz's note, 'Birrus vestis est amphimallus villosus' (having the nap on both sides), according to which the birrus was a sort of waterproof cape thrown over

they copied from the Romans.' Would that the chroniclers of the early Middle Ages would more often have furnished us with details like these as to the dress and habits of the people! They would have been more valuable than many pages of controversy on the 'Three Chapters,' or even than the usual notes of miracles, eclipses, and displays of Aurora Borealis, which are found in their annals.

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Political condition of the Lombards.

Politically the organisation of the Lombard people was evidently rude and barbarous. To use a phrase which has lately come into fashion among German historians, the tendency of political life among them was centrifugal rather than centripetal. The institution of kingship was imperfectly developed. There does not appear to have been any single family, like the Amals among the Ostrogoths or the Balthae among the Visigoths, towering high above the other noble families, and claiming the veneration of the people by the right of long descent. A king arises among them, and perhaps succeeds in transmitting his royal power to one or two generations of his descendants; but then there is a murder or a rebellion, and a member of an entirely different clan succeeds to the throne. Nor, for many generations, do any national leaders give proof of political genius or constructive statesmanship. Mere lust and love of plunder appear to be the determining motives of their wars. They produce no Alaric, with his consciousness of a divine mission to penetrate to the Eternal City; no Ataulfus and no Theodoric, longing to preserve the remnants of Roman civilisation by the

other garments when it rained, seems to throw most light on this passage. See Ducange *in voce* and White and Riddell.

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arms of the barbarian; no Gaiseric, able to stamp his own impress on the nation from which he sprang, and to turn the foresters of Pannonia into the daring mariners of Carthage. Everything about them, even for many years after they have entered upon the sacred soil of Italy, speaks of mere savage delight in bloodshed and the rudest forms of sensual indulgence; they are the anarchists of the *Völkerwanderung*, whose delight is only in destruction, and who seem incapable of culture. Yet this is the race from which, in the fulness of time, under the transmuting power of the old Italian civilisation, were to spring Anselm and Lanfranc, Hildebrand and Dante Alighieri.

Mixture of nationalities in the Lombard host.

It is probable that the destructive ferocity of the invaders was partly due to the heterogeneous character of their army. For not only the Lombards, strictly so called, followed the standards of the son of Audoin. Twenty thousand Saxons (perhaps from the region which was afterwards called Swabia), mindful of their old alliance with the Lombards, came at Alboin's call to help in the conquest of Italy, and brought their wives and children with them, intending to make it their home[1]. Moreover in that motley host there were Gepidae, who had lost their own national existence, but were willing to help their victors to sack the cities of Italy; there were Bulgarians from the Lower Danube, Sarmatians or, as we should say, Sclaves from the plains of the

[1] 'Alboin vero ad Italiam cum Langobardis profecturus ab amicis suis vetulis Saxonibus auxilium petiit, quatenus spatiosam Italiam cum pluribus possessurus intraret' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 6). The fact that 'Suavi' (= Alamanni) occupied the deserted homes of these Saxons seems to oblige us to locate them in Southern Germany.

Ukraine, and a mass of men of various nationalities (perhaps including the remnants of the Rugian and Herulian peoples), who called themselves after the provinces in which they dwelt—the men of Pannonia, of Savia, and of Noricum [1]. Two centuries later, the names of these non-Lombard tribes were still preserved in some of the villages of Italy. At the time which we are now considering, it is easy to understand how the mixed character of the entering multitude may have added to the horrors of the invasion. Each barbarous tribe among the Germans had, so to speak, its own code of morality, as well as its own peculiar national vices; but when they were all united for one great ravaging inroad into the rich lands of the South, we can well believe that each tribe would contribute its worst elements to the common stock of savagery; the cruelty of one, the treachery of another, the lustfulness of a third, becoming the general character of all [2].

Religion of the Lombards.

Among those loosely-connected nationalities, there were probably some which were still actually heathen. The Lombards, however, appear to have generally professed that Arian form of Christianity which, as we have seen, was common to nearly all the Teutonic invaders of the Empire. Of the time and manner of their

[1] 'Certum est autem tunc Alboin multos secum ex diversis, quas vel alii reges vel ipse ceperat, gentibus ad Italiam adduxisse. Unde usque hodie eorum in quibus habitant vicos, Gepidos, Vulgares, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive aliis hujuscemodi nominibus appellamus' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 26).

[2] A certain lowering of the moral standard is generally seen in our own time and country when there is a sudden accumulation of labourers from all parts of England and Ireland to carry through some great industrial enterprise.

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conversion (if we may apply so noble a name to so slight and superficial a change) we know nothing. Their Arianism, though it was sufficiently pronounced to make a chasm between them and the orthodox inhabitants of Italy, does not seem to have been of a militant type, like the bitter Arianism of the Vandals. Apparently they were not sufficiently in earnest about their faith to persecute its opponents; but, whether they were Arians or heathens, the divergence of their religion from that of the Roman provincials was excuse enough for sacking the churches, carrying off the costly communion chalices, and slaying the priests at the altar.

The Lombards set forth, April 2, 568.

The muster of this manifold horde of barbarians was completed in the early spring of 568, and, on the second of April in that year, the day after Easter Sunday, Alboin set forth[1]. He marched (if local tradition may be trusted), not precisely by the same road which Alaric had trodden before him, by Laybach and the Pear-tree Pass, but went somewhat higher up the valley of the Drave, near to the site of the modern city of Villach, and crossed the Julian Alps by that which is now known as the Predil Pass. A high hill

[1] The above date is that given by Paulus Diaconus (H. L. ii. 7), by the Origo and Codex Gothanus, and really confirmed by Marius Aventicensis, since, though he assigns the invasion to 569, his dates are manifestly here one year too low, as has been already remarked. The fragment of Secundus, quoted by Troya (Cod. Diplom. Lang. i. 23), assigns it to the second Indiction (569), but this is generally regarded as a copyist's blunder. An attempt has recently been made by Prof. Cipolla to bring the date of the Lombard entry into Italy down to 569. Cipolla relies chiefly on a somewhat obscure notice in the Excerptum Sangallense. But Prof. Crivellucci (in Studi Storici, i. 478–497) argues, it seems to me successfully, for the usually accepted date 568.

568.

rises here, to the southward of the road, which, at least from the eighth century onwards, has borne the name of the King's Mountain, for thither, it is said, the Lombard leader climbed, and from its height looked backward over the long train of his followers—the horsemen, the slowly moving waggons, the dusty foot-soldiers; and then, straining his eyes over the sea of hills to the south of him, he saw the longed-for Italy[1].

Venetia overrun.

The march of the invader through the province of Venetia seems to have been practically unopposed. He reached the banks of the Piave and looked, it may be, towards the lagoons on the south-eastern horizon, where the descendants of the refugees from the wrath of Attila were leading their strange amphibious lives between the Adriatic and the mainland. But no message either of peace or war came to him from Torcello or Murano, and no Patrician from Ravenna stood ready to dispute his passage of the Piave. Only Felix, bishop of Tarvisium (Treviso), met the Lombard king and besought him to leave untouched the property of his church. The easy success of the invasion thus far had made Alboin generous. He granted the bishop's

Meeting with the bishop of Treviso.

[1] 'Igitur cum rex Alboin cum omni suo exercitu vulgique promiscui multitudine ad extremos Italiae fines pervenisset, montem qui in eisdem locis prominet ascendit, indeque, prout conspicere potuit, partem Italiae contemplatus est. Qui mons propter hanc, ut fertur, causam ex eo tempore Mons Regis appellatus est' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 8). All this is 'Sagenhaft', say the German commentators, a story invented to account for the name of the mountain. This seems to me quite unnecessary scepticism and 'über-Kritik.' Paulus goes on to say that bisons bred in that mountain, and that an old man told him he had seen one killed whose hide could serve as a counterpane to fifteen men. But this has nothing to do with Alboin's march.

BOOK VI. CH. 4. 568.

request, and ordered a charter to be prepared (called in the grand Byzantine style a *Pragmatic*) safeguarding all the rights and privileges of the church of Treviso[1].

Vicenza and Verona were conquered without difficulty, and now the whole province of Venetia, with the exception of Padua, Monselice and Mantua (to which must be added of course the little settlement in the Venetian lagoons), accepted the yoke of the invader.

The Duchy of Forum Julii.

It was probably while Alboin was spending the winter of 568–9 in one of the conquered cities of Venetia, that he took measures for closing the door by which he himself had entered Italy, against any future invader. With this purpose in view he appointed his nephew Gisulf first duke of Forum Julii. This city, now called Cividale, was the chief place of the district which still bears its name under a slightly altered form, that beautiful land of Friuli[2], whose barrier Alps are so memorable a feature in the north-eastern horizon when we are looking forth from the palaces of Venice. Gisulf, whom he selected as duke of this outpost-country, was not only nephew of Alboin but also held the position of Master of the Horse in his uncle's household, a title which in the Lombard language was expressed by the word *Marpahis*. But though already famous for his warlike deeds[3],

[1] 'Cui rex ut erat largissimus omnes suae ecclesiae facultates postulanti concessit et per suum pracmaticum (*sic*) postulata firmavit' (l. c. ii. 12). A difficulty has been raised as to Alboin's ability to write. But the charter would be prepared by some ecclesiastic and signed, perhaps with a mark, by the king.

[2] The Venetian Forum Julii survives in Friuli. The city of the same name in Provence has become Fréjus.

[3] 'Gisulfum ut fertur, suum nepotem, virum per omnia

even he feared to undertake the onerous duty of guarding the passes of the Julian Alps, unless he might choose his retainers from among the pick of the Lombard army. To this condition Alboin assented, and some of the noblest and bravest *farae*, or kinships, of the Lombards were chosen to follow the standards of Gisulf and to settle under his government in the plains of Friuli. He also asked for and obtained a large number of the king's best brood-mares, that from them might spring the swift horses of his border-cavalry. As our historian's own lineage was derived from these Lombards of Friuli it is doubtless with a touch of family pride that he tells us of the foundation of this aristocratic colony[1].

Liguria conquered.

The progress of the Lombard invaders was steady. In 569 Alboin overran the province of Liguria. Milan, so long the residence of the emperors, the city of Ambrose and of Theodosius, opened her gates to him on September 3, and all the cities of Liguria, and the neighbouring province of Alpes Cottiae, save Ticinum

idoneum, qui eidem strator erat, quem lingua propria *marpahis* appellant' (H. L. ii. 9). The word is explained by Meyer as equivalent to 'mare-bitter.'

[1] The words of Paulus are worth quoting, as showing how clearly he perceived—what has been often insisted upon in these volumes—that Italy is most vulnerable from the north-east: 'Siquidem omnis Italia . . . ab occiduo et aquilone jugis Alpium ita circumcluditur, ut nisi per angustos meatus et per summa juga montium non possit habere introitum: ab orientali vero parte, qua Pannoniae conjungitur, et largius patentem et planissimum habet ingressum' (H. L. ii. 9). Probably one reason for the petition of Gisulf was that in Alboin's motley army, composed partly of Gepi lae, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, and so forth, he feared a treacherous understanding with the invader unless he had pure Lombard *farae* for the staple of his colony.

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and those which were situated on the sea-coast, followed her example. From the day of the conquest of Milan, Alboin seems to have assumed the title of 'Lord of Italy,' and from this event he dated the commencement of his reign[1].

As a rule we hear little of the resistance either of Byzantine garrisons or of citizens loyal to the Empire in any of these cities of Upper Italy. Nor, notwithstanding the general character for ferocity borne by the invaders, do we hear any particulars as to deeds of cruelty wrought by them after the capture of such cities[2]. Possibly the very weakness of the garrisons and the panic terror of the inhabitants, caused by the reports which they had heard of Lombard barbarity, made the invaders' victory easy and inclined their hearts to mercy.

Siege of Ticinum, 569-572.

The one marked exception to this facility of conquest was afforded by the great city of Ticinum[3], or (to use the name which it acquired under Lombard domination) Pavia. This city, so strongly placed in the angle between the Ticino and the Po, was probably held by a numerous imperial garrison, and resisted the barbarian attack for more than three years. Alboin pitched his camp on the western side of the city and turned the siege into a blockade. Exasperated by its long and stubborn resistance, the king vowed that, when he had taken it, he would put every one of

[1] As Gaiseric dated his from the capture of Carthage.

[2] I do not find in the authorities any justification for the beautiful line in Macaulay's prize poem on Pompeii—

'When blazing cities marked where Alboin trod.'

[3] Paulus calls it 'Ticinus quae alio nomine Papia appellatur' (H. L. ii. 15).

the inhabitants to the sword. But when at length, doubtless owing to the pressure of hunger, the citizens surrendered, the cruel vow was recalled, owing to one of those strange occurrences in which Alboin, like Attila before him, read a marvel and a portent. The Lombard king in all his pride was riding in at the eastern[1] gate of the city, the gate of St. John, when suddenly his horse fell in the middle of the gateway. Neither the spurs of his rider nor the spears with which he was abundantly beaten by the king's retinue availed to make him rise. Then one of the Lombard soldiers cried aloud, 'Remember, my lord the king! what manner of vow thou hast vowed. Break that cruel promise and thou shalt enter the town. For of a truth it is a Christian people that dwells in this city.' Alboin accepted his follower's counsel, recalled his vow and promised that none of the inhabitants should be harmed. Then the horse arose, and he rode on through the streets of the famine-stricken city to the palace built by the great Theodoric, where he took up his abode. The people, hearing of the cancelled vow, flocked to the palace to utter their joyful acclamations. Life, even under the savage Lombard, was sweet, and food was delightful after the years of hunger, and they let into their hearts a hope of better days to come after so many miseries which they had endured.

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[1] But the army was encamped on the western side, as before narrated; therefore, say some of the commentators, the whole story is 'Saga.' The apparent contradiction, however, is patent in the text of Paulus, and would probably disappear if we knew all the circumstances. An inundation of one of the rivers, or any one of a hundred easily imaginable causes, may have prevented Alboin from entering on the western side.

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572.

The city which had been able to make so long a defence was evidently worth holding. Pavia became, though perhaps not at once[1], the capital of the Lombard monarchy and the place of deposit of the royal hoard.

Operations in other parts of Italy.

The three years from 569 to 572 were by no means exclusively occupied with the siege of Pavia. Alboin probably left the conduct of that operation to one of his trusted officers, while he himself with the mass of his followers wandered, ravaging and conquering, over northern and central Italy. We lack any precise chronological statement of his career, but we may conjectuie that in the year 570 he completed (with a few exceptions, afterwards to be noted) the conquest of the valley of the Po, and that in 571 he crossed the Apennines and began the conquest of Tuscia and Umbria, of the Aemilian and Flaminian provinces. In the same year, as is generally believed, others of the Lombards pushed down through central to southern Italy, and by their conquests laid the foundation of the two great Lombard duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.

It was of great assistance to the cause of the invaders that they early obtained possession of Bologna, of Forum Cornelii (or Imola), and of the great fortress[2] which guarded the tunnel-pass of Furlo. This latter fortress they burned to the ground, doubtless in order to prevent its again falling into the hands of the

[1] Alboin seems to have fixed his residence at Verona. We have no clear proof that Pavia was chosen by him as the capital.

[2] Petra Pertusa. See vol. iv. 295. We get the account of the fall of these two fortresses from Agnellus (Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis, § 95).

Imperialists and blocking the communication between north and south. If the reader will turn back to the previous pages of this history, in which the wars between the Ostrogoths and the Empire were recorded, he will see of what capital importance to the invading nation was the possession of these strongholds which guarded the great Flaminian Way, the main artery of traffic between the two centres of Imperial authority, Rome and Ravenna. It might seem as if communication between these two cities, except by sea, must have been henceforth entirely suspended: but the strong town of Perugia on its rocky perch still held out for the Emperor, and probably by means of this city, through difficult mountain roads, his faithful servants may have travelled between the two capitals.

Portions of Italy not conquered by the Lombards.

To enumerate the conquests of the Lombards in these years would be to give a mere list of the chief cities of northern and central Italy. It will be more to the purpose to give the names of the principal cities which were yet held by the Empire. In Venetia, as already said, Padua and Monselice were still Imperial. Mantua fell to the Lombards, probably in the lifetime of Alboin, though we have no precise details of its capture and though it was soon reconquered by the Empire. In the valley of the Po, Cremona and Piacenza were still 'Roman': on the western coast, Genoa and probably several other cities of the Riviera: on the eastern, Ravenna and the five cities which formed the Pentapolis (Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia and Ancona); in central Italy, Perugia; in Latium, Rome itself and a certain, not very large, extent of territory round it; in southern Italy,

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Naples, Salerno, Paestum, and nearly all the towns of the province of Bruttii.

The Lombards held the highlands, the Imperialists the sea-coast.

It will be seen that practically, with the single exception of Perugia, all the places of which the Empire retained possession were either on the sea-coast (like Genoa and Ancona), or surrounded by water (like Mantua), or accessible by a navigable river (like Cremona and Piacenza)[1]. On the other hand, the Lombards, an inland people, accustomed to traverse the high Alpine passes of Pannonia and Noricum, held the central ridge of the Apennines, from whence they swooped down at their pleasure upon the weakly garrisoned fortresses of Tuscia and Liguria. The invasion was thus—strange as the comparison would have seemed to the priests and 'Levites' of the Roman church—analogous to that which had occurred more than two thousand years before at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, when, under the leadership of Joshua, a nation, not less dreaded than the Lombards, came from over Jordan to occupy the high table-land of central Palestine, and to wage a war of generations with the more highly civilised inhabitants of the maritime plain, the citizens of the Philistine Pentapolis and the Canaanites of the Zidonian strand.

Famine and pestilence.

The victories of Alboin and his horde were doubtless somewhat aided by the terrible physical calamities which about this time afflicted Italy. Already, before the recall of Narses (probably about the year 566)[2], a fearful pestilence had raged, chiefly in the province

[1] Weise has well directed attention to this circumstance (pp. 16 and 17).

[2] Waitz, in the edition of Paulus in the M. H. G., affixes the date 570 to this notice of the pestilence, but Weise more probably assigns its first outbreak to 566 (p. 4).

of Liguria. Its special symptom was the appearance on the patient of boils, about the size of a nut, the formation of which was followed by fever and intolerable heat, generally ending on the third day in the death of the sufferer. The Lombard historian draws a dismal picture of flocks deserted in the pastures, of farm-houses, once teeming with peasant life, abandoned to silence or only tenanted by troops of dogs: of parents left unburied by their children, and children by their parents. If some one, mindful of the ancient kindness between them, devoted himself to the burial of his neighbour, he would most probably himself fall to the ground plague-stricken and remain unburied. The harvests in vain expected the reaper's sickle: the purple clusters hung on the vine till winter drew nigh. An awful silence brooded over the fields where the shepherd's whistle and the sportsman's eager tread were alike unheard. And yet more dreadful than the silence were the sounds of a ghostly trumpet, the mysterious tramp of unseen multitudes which were heard at night by the solitary rustics who lay awaiting their doom[1]. This pestilence, as Paulus expressly tells us, was one cause of Alboin's easy victories[2]: and another was the famine which raged in 570, following a year of extreme plenty in 569. This plenty was itself the result—so it was considered—of an abundant snowfall during the previous winter which had given

[1] This really poetical description of the pestilence (H. L. ii. 4) seems to be due to Paulus himself; at least the indefatigable Jacobi does not trace it to any other source.

[2] 'Nec erat tunc virtus Romanis, ut resistere possent, quia et pestilentia, quae sub Narsete facta est, plurimos in Liguria et Venetiis exstinxerat et post annum quem diximus fuisse ubertatis, fames nimia ingruens universam Italiam devastabat' (H. L. ii. 26).

BOOK VI. CH. 4. the plains of Italy the semblance of the snow-fields of the Alps[1].

572. Death of Alboin. The career of Alboin had been brilliant and successful; in its savage style not unworthy to be ranked with the career of Alaric or of Attila, but it was destined to an even speedier ending than theirs. There were perhaps unextinguished jealousies and rivalries of the barbarian races under his command, which may have contributed to the fatal result, but the sagas of his nation—in which women had already played a leading part[2]—attributed his death solely to the rage of an insulted woman. And thus the story was told:—

On a certain day (probably in the spring of 572[3])

[1] 'Hoc anno superiori hieme tanta nix in planitie cecidit, quanta in superioribus Alpibus cadere solet; sequenti vero aestate tanta fertilitas extitit, quanta(m) nulla aetas adseveratur meminisse' (H. L. ii. 10).

[2] Gambara, Freya, the mother of Lamissio, Rumetruda the daughter of Tato.

[3] There is much to be said both for 572 and 573 as the year of Alboin's death, and I confess that I waver a good deal between them, but on the whole I am inclined to adopt 572 (with Crivellucci, Studi Storici, ii. 208, and Waitz, M. H. G., Paulus, ii. 28) rather than 573 (with Muratori and Weise, p. 20). My chief reason is that this is the date given us by Marius, by Joannes Biclariensis, and by the Excerptum Sangallense, and that it seems to correspond with the chronology of the (early) Continuatio Prosperi Havniensis, when we have made the needful correction of ten years for twelve in the duration of the interregnum. On the other hand, I must confess that I find a difficulty with this date in getting the three years and some months assigned to the siege of Pavia into the life of Alboin, unless we suppose that bands of the Lombards pushed westwards and began the siege of this important place within a few months of their first descent into Italy. This, though unlikely, is not impossible. It must always be remembered that (as Weise has

the king sat at the banquet in his palace-hall at Verona. Having drunk too freely of the wine-cup he bade bring forth the goblet which was fashioned out of the skull of king Cunimund; that same goblet, adorned with goodly pearls[1], which near two centuries later the Lombard historian saw on a day of feasting exhibited by king Ratchis to his guests. He bade the cup-bearer carry this goblet (fashioned as it was out of her own father's skull) to queen Rosamund and invite her to drink merrily with her sire. The queen, it would seem, obeyed with no outward manifestation of repugnance, but in her heart she determined on a terrible revenge. With this intent she sought the aid of Helmechis the *scilpor* or armour-bearer of the king, and his foster-brother. She promised him her hand, she held out to him the dazzling prospect of the Lombard crown, and Helmechis entered into her treacherous designs. Only he stipulated that Peredeo, the chamberlain, should be made an accomplice in the plot. Doubtless Peredeo's help was indispensable to its successful execution, but also there may have been some reluctance on the part of Helmechis to strike the actual death-stroke against his foster-brother, and for this reason he may have desired to enlist the strong[2] arm of Peredeo in the service of the infuriated queen[3].

pointed out, p. 33) no date in Lombard history can be fixed with absolute precision between the entry into Italy (568) and the death of Authari (Sept. 5, 590). The qualifying word 'probably' must therefore be understood as applicable to all dates between these two events.

[1] So says Agnellus.

[2] 'Qui erat vir fortissimus' (H. L. ii. 28).

[3] This is Weise's suggestion (p. 25). It is curious to observe

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572.

The chamberlain, however, when Rosamund sought to enlist his services in her scheme of revenge, refused to be partaker of so great wickedness. But he did not warn his master of the danger impending over him, and the queen, taking advantage of an intrigue between Peredeo and one of her waiting-women, by the sacrifice of her own honour, forced the unwilling chamberlain into a position in which he must either join the plot or be denounced to Alboin as the seducer of his wife. Peredeo chose the former alternative, and from that moment the success of the conspirators was assured. When Alboin had retired for his noon-tide slumber, a great silence was made all round his bed-chamber; the tramping sentinels were, as we may suppose, removed by order of the chamberlain; and on some pretence or other the arms which hung in the room were taken away. Then, as Helmechis had counselled, the queen brought in Peredeo himself to strike the fatal blow [1]. Suddenly aroused from slumber, Alboin stretched forth his hand to grasp the sword which always hung at his bed's head, but this by the cunning of the conspirators had been so tightly tied to

the marked emphasis which both the Origo and the Chronicon Gothanum lay on the '*consilium*' of Peredeo.

[1] In the present text of Paulus we read 'et juxta consilium Peredeo Helmechis interfectorem omni bestia crudelior introduxit.' This reading seems to reverse the parts, making Peredeo the adviser and Helmechis the executor of the deed. The names are transposed in some MSS., but this seems to be a correction in order to bring the sentence into harmony with what has preceded. It must be admitted that it is difficult to determine with accuracy the part of each of the actors in the tragedy. Agnellus ignores Peredeo altogether, and assigns the whole responsibility for the murder to Helmechis, instigated by Rosamund.

its sheath that he could not draw it. He snatched up a footstool and for some time valiantly defended himself, but fell at last under the strokes of the assassins. BOOK VI. CH. 4. 572.

'Thus,' says Paulus, 'did that most warlike and courageous man, who had earned so great fame in war by the slaughter of multitudes of his foes, fall like a Nithing in his chamber by the stratagem of a miserable woman[1]. His body, amid the abundant tears and lamentations of the Lombards, was buried under a certain flight of stairs which joined hard to the palace. He was tall of stature and his body was well knit for all warlike deeds. Now this tomb of his was opened in our own days by Giselpert, who had been duke of Verona[2], and who took away his sword and all the adornments that he found therein. Wherefore he was wont to boast with his accustomed folly, when he was surrounded by ignorant persons, that "he had seen Alboin."'

Flight of the murderers.

The hopes which Helmechis had entertained that he might be chosen king of the Lombards proved utterly vain. Instead of that elevation, he and the partners of his crime soon found that they must save themselves by flight from the vengeance of the kingless people. A secret message was conveyed to the Patrician Longinus, at Ravenna, who sent a ship to facilitate

[1] 'Heu proh dolor! vir bellicosissimus et summae audaciae ... quasi unus de inertibus interfectus est, uniusque mulierculae consilio periit, qui per tot hostium strages bello famosissimus extitit' (H. L. ii. 28). There is something in the ring of this paragraph which reminds us of the lamentation of the Huns over the grave of Attila (Jordan. de Reb. Get. 49).

[2] 'Qui dux Veronensium *fuerat*.' Why 'had been'? Before the Frankish conquest?

BOOK VI. CH. 4. 572.

their escape[1]. Helmechis and Rosamund, now husband and wife, went on board the Byzantine vessel, taking with them all the royal treasure and Albswinda, the daughter of Alboin by his first wife, a Frankish princess. Longinus, who, though the representative of the majesty of the Empire in Italy, achieved nothing for the defence of the peninsula that has been deemed worthy of notice by historians, showed himself an eager accomplice in the schemes of murderers and adulterers. He suggested to Rosamund that she should rid herself of her newly-wedded husband and marry *him*. To the Gepid princess the temptation to become 'Lady of Ravenna[2]' presented irresistible attractions; while to the Patrician the barbarian hoard, as well as the wicked loveliness of the barbarian bride, was doubtless an object of desire. When Helmechis was reclining in the *frigidarium* after enjoying the luxury of a Roman bath, his wife presented him with a goblet filled, as she averred, with some healthful potion. He drank half of the draught; then knowing himself to be poisoned, he stood over Rosamund with a drawn sword and compelled her to drink the remainder. Thus did the two guilty lovers die together, and the tragedy of Alboin's murder, which had begun with a cup of death at Verona, ended with a yet deadlier death-cup at Ravenna[3].

[1] Up the Po, presumably to some point near to Verona. The Adige would probably not be navigable so far up.

[2] 'Illa, ut erat ad omnem nequitiam facilis, dum optat Ravennatium domina fieri, ad tantum perpetrandum facinus adsensum dedit' (H. L. ii. 29).

[3] Perhaps this thought was in the mind of Paulus when he wrote 'Hic ubi sensit se *mortis poculum* bibisse, Rosemundam, evaginato super eam gladio, quod reliquum erat bibere coegit.'

Captivity of Alboin's daughter.

Albswinda was sent by the Patrician with the great Lombard hoard to Constantinople. There may have been some thought of keeping the daughter of Alboin as a hostage for the good behaviour of her father's people, but her name does not meet us in any subsequent negotiations, and she henceforth disappears from history.

Alleged captivity of the murderer Peredeo.

There was a legend (for the truth of which our historian does not vouch) that Peredeo also was carried captive to Constantinople, and there, in the amphitheatre, slew a lion of marvellous size in the presence of the Emperor. Fearing lest a man of such great personal strength should work some damage to 'the royal cities,' the cowardly Emperor ordered him to be blinded. In the course of time he managed to provide himself with two sharpknives, and having secreted these in the sleeves of his mantle, he visited the palace and asked for an interview with the Augustus, asserting that he had some important secret to communicate. He was not, however, as he had hoped, admitted to the actual presence of the Emperor, but two counsellors, high in rank, came to learn his secret. As soon as he felt that they were before him, he went close up to them, as if to whisper his portentous news, and then at once struck right and left such fatal blows, that the two counsellors fell dead upon the spot. 'Thus, like Samson, he avenged his own cruel wrong, and for his two eyes of which he had been bereft, deprived the Emperor of two of his most useful counsellors.' Like Samson's also, if there be any truth in the story, the revenge of Peredeo was, no doubt, fatal to its author.

NOTE C. On the forms Langobardi and Lombardi.

NOTE C.

It seems not worth while to encumber the text by the constant repetition of a long and somewhat uncouth race-name, but the reader is asked to remember that in strictness the form Langobardi should be preserved all through these volumes. It was the only form known to Paulus, to Charles the Great, and (I think we may safely say) through the whole of the ninth and tenth centuries. At the end of the twelfth century we find the forms Lombardi and Lombardia in frequent use, but generally, if not always, with reference to the Northern portion of Italy, which is still called Lombardy. Thus the transition from the longer to the shorter form (itself only a symptom of the general breaking down of Latin into the 'volgare'), seems to mark rather a geographical than a historical change of idea. This comes out very clearly in the 'Brevissima de Langobardis Notitia' (Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum apud M. G. H., p. 602): 'Hii dicti sunt Langobardi a longis barbis, quas qui non habebant ex capillis mulierum sibi faciebant (!). Capta autem patria, tres reges super se statuerunt sub Albino monarchia quorum primus in Aquilegia, secundus in Ravenna (!), et tertius in Papia regnavit, tenueruntque terram annis tribus vel citra, et facti sunt katolici omnes (!): expuleruntque consules Romanorum ab omnibus finibus Lombardie, et ex suis turmis forciora loca impleverunt, legesque constituerunt perpetuis temporibus conservandas. *Nec solum terram que hodie Lombardie dicitur, sed eciam montes transierunt Apennini*, Romamque sibi tributariam fecerunt (!) et usque ad regnum Calabrie suos terminos statuerunt.' Notwithstanding the many blunders made by this late writer (Waitz assigns to him the date 1391), he has got hold of one fact rightly, 'The Langobardi invaded Italy, and conquered far more than the region which we now call Lombardia.'

When the change from Langobardia to Lombardia began to be made, it might be difficult to determine, but the authorities seem to point to the end of the tenth century. In the Catalogus

Regum Langobardorum (Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum, ubi supra, pp. 491–497), which comes down to 931, the form used is Langobardi; but an addition, evidently by a later hand, brings down the list of *Emperors* to Henry the Second; and this addition, dealing with the events of 1002 in language which looks like that of a contemporary, describes the elevation of Ardoin as king of Italy, his strife with Henry, duke of Bavaria, the elevation of the latter to the Imperial throne, and his arrival in Italy. 'Et omnes *Lambardi* mentiti sunt Arduini regis et subdiderunt se Henrici regis. Et ipse applicuit usque urbem Papia et igne cremavit eam, et sic reversus est in Totonicum (Teutonicum) regnum suum.' In the account of the same transactions given by Arnulfus of Milan[1] (circa 1085), the form used is still Langobardi.

In the *Brevis Historia* of Ariprand (Script. R. L. pp. 592–596), attributed by Waitz to the beginning of the twelfth century, the MSS. use the forms *Longobardi*, *Longobardia*; but a certain Johannes Codagnellus, who copied and slightly expanded Ariprand's work, and who wrote in the thirteenth century, always changes these into *Lombardi*, *Lombardia*.

The great wars of the Lombard League with Frederic Barbarossa (1167–1183) perhaps helped to accustom the minds of men to the shorter form of the name. That League is always spoken of as *Lombardorum Societas* by the Cardinal of Aragon in his Life of Pope Alexander III. Upon the whole, we may probably say that up to the year 1000 the only forms known to literature were Langobardi and Longobardi; that from 1000 to 1200 was the period of transition; and that after 1200 Lombardi was the form naturally used except by those who wished to write archaically.

NOTE D. NOTICES OF ALBOIN AND THE LOMBARDS IN THE 'TRAVELLER'S SONG.'

IN the 'Traveller's Song,' or as it is sometimes called, from that which is apparently the name of the author, 'Widsith,' we have the following express references to the Langobardic nation.

[1] i. 14 (apud Muratori R. I. S. iv. 12).

NOTE D. l. 32 (where the minstrel is enumerating the names of various kings with those of the nations over whom they ruled):—

'Sceafa (weolde) Longbeardum.'

'Sceafa ruled the Langobardi.'

ll. 79–82:—

'Mid Scottum ic waes and mid Peohtum, And mid Scridefinnum.
Mid Lidwicingum ic waes and mid Leonum, And mid Longbeardum.
Mid haeðnum and mid haeleðum, And mid Hundingum.'

'I was with Scots and with Picts and with Scridefinni.
I was with Lidwicingi and with Leoni and with Langobardi.
With heathens and with saved ones, And with Hundingi.'

Neither of these extracts adds much to our information about the Langobardi: and, as we cannot identify Sceafa with any king mentioned by Paulus, we may perhaps infer that the minstrel is here speaking of some remnant of the nation left behind in their old homes by the Elbe. [Sceafa is probably the mythical hero, and not an historic Lombard king. See Chadwick, 'The Origin of the English Nation,' pp. 277 seq.]

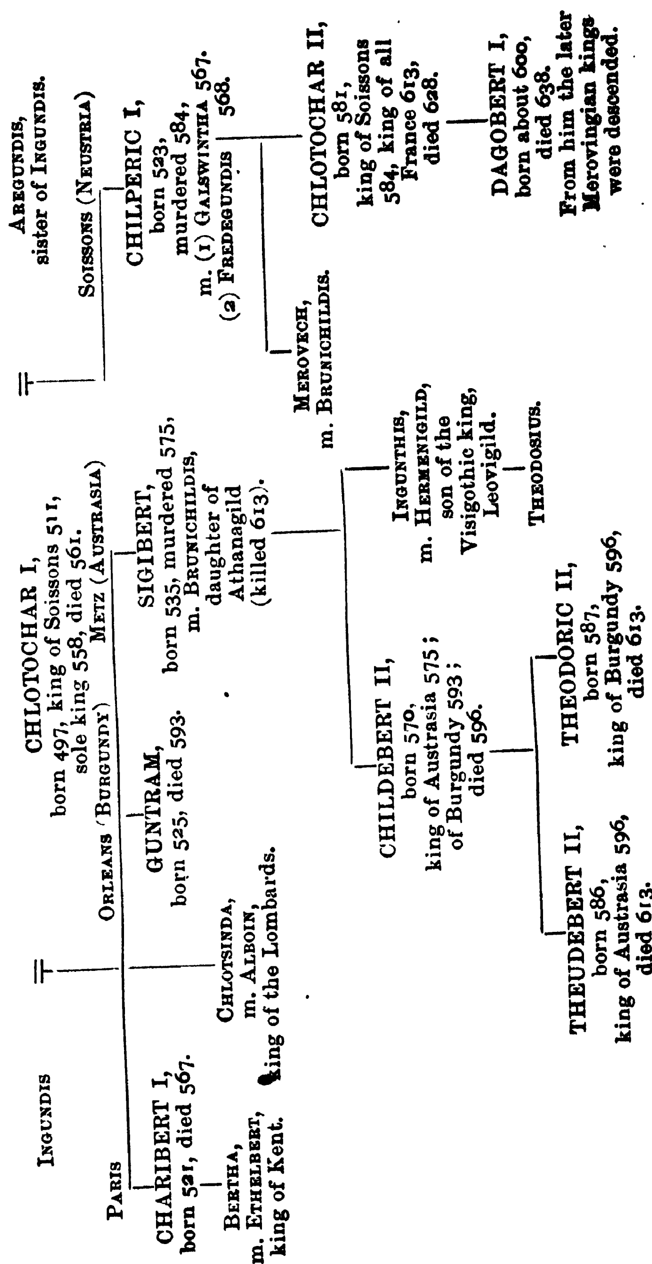
But in ll. 70–74 we have a possible reference to Alboin, which, if it can be assigned to that king, is extremely interesting.—

'Swylce ic waes on Eatule Mid Aelfwine:
Se haefde moncynnes Mine gefraege
Leohtest hond Lofes to wyrcenne,
Heortan unhneaweste Hringa gedales,
Beorhtra beaga, Bearn Eadwines.'

'So was I in Italy with Ealfwin, son of Eadwin, who of all mankind had to my thinking the lightest hand to win love, the most generous heart in the distribution of rings and bright bracelets.' If we may be permitted to turn 'Eatule' into Italy (and this identification is generally accepted), 'Ealfwin, son of Eadwin,' becomes almost certainly Alboin, son of Audoin. The time also fits, for it is generally admitted that the 'Traveller's Song' was composed somewhere about the middle of the sixth century. It is true that he mentions Theodoric (doubtless Theodoric I, son of Clovis) as king of the Franks, and that this king died in 534, thirty-four years before the Lombard invasion of Italy: but the minstrel hardly professes to be giving a precise list of actual reigning sovereigns, and in such a poem

great chronological accuracy is not to be looked for. [The Traveller's Song was certainly *not* composed about the middle of the sixth century. It is much later. No one doubts the identity of Ælfwine and Alboin. Note by F. York Powell.] NOTE D.

On the whole (though I must speak with hesitation of a matter so much outside my province) it seems to me probable that the 'Traveller' is here referring to Alboin in Italy, and if so the praises of his generous and affable nature go some way to soften the gruesome outlines of the Alboin whom Paulus paints for us.


FRANKISH KINGS FROM CHLOTOCHAR I TO DAGOBERT I.
INGUNDIS
CHLOTOCHAR I, born 497, king of Soissons 511, sole king 558, died 561.
AREGUNDIS, sister of INGUNDIS.
PARIS
CHARIBERT I, born 521, died 567.
BERTHA, m. ETHELBERT, king of Kent.
CHLOTSINDA, m. ALBOIN, king of the Lombards.
ORLEANS (BURGUNDY)
GUNTRAM, born 525, died 593.
METZ (AUSTRASIA)
SIGIBERT, born 535, murdered 575, m. BRUNICHILDIS, daughter of Athanagild (killed 613).
SOISSONS (NEUSTRIA)
CHILPERIC I, born 523, murdered 584, m. (1) GALSWINTHA 567. (2) FREDEGUNDIS 568.
MEROVECH, m. BRUNICHILDIS.
CHLOTOCHAR II, born 581, king of Soissons 584, king of all France 613, died 628.
DAGOBERT I, born about 600, died 638. From him the later Merovingian kings were descended.
CHILDEBERT II, born 570, king of Austrasia 575; of Burgundy 593; died 596.
INGUNTHIS, m. HERMENIGILD, son of the Visigothic king, Leovigild.
THEODOSIUS.
THEUDEBERT II, born 586, king of Austrasia 596, died 613.
THEODORIC II, born 587, king of Burgundy 596, died 613.

CHAPTER V.

THE INTERREGNUM.

Authorities.

Sources:—

MENANDER the Protector (Life-guardsman) gives us some important contemporary information as to the embassies which passed between the citizens of Rome and the Emperors at Constantinople. Menander was trained for the bar, but gave little heed to study and wasted his paternal inheritance on dancers and chariot-races. He then took to literary pursuits, in which he obtained the patronage of the Emperor Maurice. His chief work was a 'Continuation of the History of Agathias' (Τὰ μετὰ 'Αγαθίαν), which embraced the period from 558 to 582. Unfortunately, of this work we have only the scanty fragment preserved in the 'Extracts concerning Embassies' compiled by order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Notwithstanding his stormy youth, he seems to have been a painstaking and accurate historian. In his style he is considered to be too obviously an imitator of Agathias, not the best of models.

For Frankish affairs GREGORY OF TOURS is of course our one great standard authority. In previous volumes of this book Gregory has been often quoted, but in those only as a compiler, gathering up the information furnished by earlier writers. Now he speaks to us as a contemporary and a leading figure on the political stage, from the fulness of his own personal knowledge. The chief dates of his life are as follows. He was born at Clermont Ferrand about the year 538 [1], was ordained deacon in 563, and bishop (of Tours) in 573. He died on the 17th of November 594 or 595 [2].

[1] In 542 according to the biography, which however dates only from the early part of the tenth century. Monod (Études Critiques sur les Sources de l'Histoire Mérovingienne, p. 28) argues strongly for the earlier date, given above.

[2] The former date is given by Monod (p. 38) and seems to

BOOK VI. CH. 5.

Sprung from one of the noblest provincial families of Gaul, a family in which senatorships and bishoprics were almost hereditary, Georgius Florentius, who took the ecclesiastical name of Gregory, possessed, in virtue of his social position, splendid opportunities for becoming acquainted with the political history of Merovingian Gaul. These opportunities were greatly increased when he became bishop of Tours, a city in the centre of the land, near the confines of the three chief Frankish kingdoms, and often the prize of victory in the contests of two of them, Neustria and Austrasia. Tours was also on the high road of pilgrims from Rome, and of ambassadors journeying to or returning from Spain: and its basilica, containing the tomb of the great St. Martin, was a favourite place of refuge for princes, and counts who might in those stormy times have incurred the easily kindled wrath of the Merovingian kings.

Thus for all Frankish affairs, from 561 to 591, when his history ends, Gregory is an authority of the very highest rank: and notwithstanding his almost fanatical championship of the rights of the Church, and his constant desire to discover evidences of miraculous interposition on behalf of her ministers, he gives his reader the impression that he was, upon the whole, a fair-minded man, and did not wilfully distort the character even of an opponent. His grammar is deplorable: he confesses that he never felt certain about his genders, and could not remember whether a preposition ought to govern the accusative or the ablative case. But his style is short, quick, and animated, and with all its 'rusticity,' of which he is fully aware, it is infinitely preferable to the vapid and long-winded obscurity of a Sidonius or an Ennodius.

I have said that on all points relating to Frankish history Gregory is not only a truthful but a well-informed witness. Unfortunately for us, his knowledge of affairs external to his

be generally accepted: the latter, adopted by Clinton (Fasti Romani, i. 834), seems to me the more probable. M. Monod does not appear to have grappled with Clinton's argument, that Gregory, in the 'Miracula S. Martini,' apparently describes a miracle, the healing of a blind man at the tomb of St. Martin, which took place November 14, 594. If so it is improbable that his own death occurred only three days later.

nation is not even proportionally as good. As to Spain, indeed, his conversations with the Visigothic ambassadors on their journeys through Tours gave him much valuable information. But as to the events in Italy and the East, he was evidently in great ignorance. His sketches of the Lombard campaigns in the south of Gaul are meagre and unsatisfactory. He gives incorrectly (or at least differently from all our other sources) the name of the fourth king of the Lombards, the successor of Authari, and he misstates the number of years of the reigns of Alboin and of the Emperor Justin II. It is the more to be regretted that Gregory's history should have been so deficient in these respects, because it is evident that this part of the work of PAULUS is chiefly derived from his pages. BOOK VI. CH. 5.

Guides:—

In the above-quoted 'Études Critiques sur les Sources de l'Histoire Mérovingienne' of M. *Gabriel Monod* (aided by his pupils at the École Pratique des Hautes-Études) there are many valuable suggestions as to the life and times of Gregory of Tours.

Dahn's 'Urgeschichte der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker,' vol. iii, is a helpful commentary on the 'Historia Francorum,' though one could wish that the author had made it something more than this, and had fused—as he could so well have done—the fragmentary and discontinuous anecdotes told by Gregory into one harmonious whole, which might have in the process been greatly reduced in bulk.

Thierry's 'Récit des Temps Mérovingiens' will probably always keep its place as an agreeable popularization of Gregory's great work; but the student who knows this author's manner of writing will always look carefully to the authorities to see whether the details of the story are vouched for by them, or are due to the lively imagination of the reciter.

THE death of Alboin occurred, as has been already said, in the spring of the year[1], and that year was Alboin's successor Cleph, 572–574.

[1] The 'Excerptum San Gallense' gives us viii Kal. Jun. = May 25; Agnellus, 'Liber Pontificalis Eccl. Rav.,' iv Kal. Julias = June 28, for this event.

probably 572. The Lombard warriors, assembled, after some interval, at Pavia, which was perhaps, now for the first time, recognised as the capital of the new kingdom, chose Cleph, 'of the race of Beleo[1],' one of the most nobly born among them, to be their king.

Of Cleph we really know hardly anything beyond his own name and that of his wife Masane. It is probable, though not distinctly stated, that, previous to his elevation to the throne, he was Duke of Bergamo[2]. His rule bore hardly on the old Roman aristocracy, many of whom he slew with the sword, while he banished others from their native land[3].

Assassination of Cleph.

At the end of eighteen months, that is, probably about the middle of 574, king Cleph was slain with the sword by a slave in his own household[4], whom he had probably exasperated by his overbearing temper.

No king elected.

Again the leaders of the Lombard nation were assembled at Pavia, but this time their meeting did not result in the choice of a king. King Cleph had left one son, Authari, who was apparently of tender years. The usual expedient of a maternal regency was probably not acceptable to a barbarous and warlike people. The chief nobles seem to have been all of nearly equal rank and power, so that it was difficult to single out one for supreme dominion. The debate (possibly a long and angry one) ended in a decision to elect no king, but to divide the royal power between

[1] So say the Origo and Chronicon Gothanum.

[2] This point is zealously contended for by Canon Lupi i. 143 and 173-178.

[3] 'Hic multos Romanorum viros potentes alios gladiis extinxit, alios ab Italia exturbavit' (H. L. ii. 31).

[4] 'A puero de suo obsequio gladio jugulatus est' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 31).

the thirty-six chief nobles, who are known in history as 'the Lombard Dukes.'

Titles of Duke and Count.

It was remarked, in an earlier chapter of this history[1], that the titles of Duke and Count came into the political vocabulary of Mediaeval Europe out of the Roman Imperial system, but were transposed on the way; 'Duke' being in the Middle Ages, as in modern times, always a title of higher honour than Count (or Earl), whereas, in the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii*, *Comes* is a higher rank than *Dux*. Under the Empire both offices had to do with military administration, but the *Comes* had generally a larger or more important sphere of duties than the *Dux*, and in some cases the *Comes* of a diocese had directly under him the *Duces* of the various subordinate provinces[2].

It was probably through the German invaders of the Empire that the change in the relative value of the two titles was introduced, and, as far as we can trace it, the process of thought which led to that change seems to have been something like this. The word *Dux*, as implying him who led forth a tribe or a nation to battle, was chosen as the equivalent of *Heretoga*, or whatever might be the precise form then in use of the modern German *Herzog*. On the other hand, *Comes* (which, after all, meant only companion, and so might be applied to any member of a king's *comitatus* or band of henchmen) was chosen as the equivalent of

[1] Vol. i. p. 231 (first edition): p. 624 (second edition). The following paragraphs are to some extent an answer to the question there raised.

[2] Thus, in the 'Notitia Orientis' (capp. xxii and xxxii–xxxvii) the Comes of the Diocese, Oriens, has (apparently) under him the six Duces of 'Foenice, Euphratensis et Syria, Palaestina Osrhoena, Mesopotamia and Arabia.'

BOOK VI. CH. 5. the German *Graf*. This was an officer who probably did not exist when the Teutonic tribes were still in their native forests, but whom we meet with in the early Frankish State as the king's representative (exercising judicial as well as military functions) in the larger cities of Gaul.

The etymology of the two words seems to point to the conclusion indicated above. *Heretoga* is without doubt the *leader of the host*[1]. The derivation of *Graf* is more doubtful, but one of our best German authorities thinks that it can be traced to a root denoting 'a companion[2].' However this may be, the meaning of these titles among the Teutonic invaders of the Empire is clear. DUKE (*Dux*, *Herzog* or *Heretoga*[3]) is a man who is looked upon as the natural leader in war of a nation or a large tribe. He is sometimes perhaps the descendant of earlier kings, and has only stooped to the condition of a Duke when his tribe lost its independence and became merged in some larger national unity. In other cases he has been chosen by some process of popular election or even by lot[4]. At any rate he is no mere delegate of the king; but from old memories, as well as by right of his present power, he has a strong tendency to make the dukeship hereditary in his family, and even to break the bond of subordination which attaches him to royalty. Thus

[1] *Here* = army : *teon* = to lead.

[2] Waitz (Verfassungsgeschichte, i. 265) appears to adopt this view of the derivation of the word in its earliest form, Ga-rafio.

[3] In Anglo-Saxon, *Ealdorman*.

[4] Tacitus' words 'Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt' (Germ. vii) seem to point to popular election of the Heretoga; Beda (Hist. Eccl. v. 10) says that the old Saxons chose what he calls their Satraps by lot.

we get the Dukes of the Bavarians, the Saxons and the Swabians, who are already, in Merovingian times, not far short of sovereign princes. How unlike these great nobles are to the modest *Duces* of the 'Notitia,' it is needless here to indicate.

On the other hand, the COUNT (*Garafio*, *Graf* or *Comes*) is at this period always essentially the king's representative. He governs a city, such as Tours, or Bourges, or Poictiers, acting as judge as well as administrator therein, and, when summoned to do so, bringing that city's contingent of soldiers to swell the royal army. He often governs his city very badly—the counts who confront us in the pages of Gregory of Tours are for the most part grasping and unscrupulous barbarians—but, whether well or ill, he always governs it as the king's representative. He has generally a life-tenure of the office (differing herein from the easily displaced Roman *comes*), but he does not apparently, as yet, cherish any hope of making it hereditary. He shines by the reflected light of the king's dignity, having no inherent lustre of his own, whether derived from old traditions of kingship or from recent popular election.

After this little digression, it will be easier for us to understand the position of the Dukes at this period of Lombard history—a position to which, I think, we may safely assert there was nothing analogous in the Visigothic kingdom of Spain, or in the Frankish kingdom of Neustria.

The Thirty-six Lombard Dukes.

Among the thirty-six Lombard dukes who were now about to share between them the sovereignty of Italy, six appear to have held somewhat higher rank than the others. These were Zaban, or Zafan, at Pavia,

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a second Alboin, or Alboni, at Milan[1], Wallari at Bergamo, Alichis at Brescia, Euin at Trient, and Gisulf at Friuli. Among these six, Zaban, as duke of Pavia, now the recognized Lombard capital, held the highest place[2], and was, to borrow a term from much more modern politics, President of the Lombard Confederation.

The Dukes as City-lords.

The form which this Teutonic aristocracy assumed deserves special attention, for it is, in a certain sense, typical of the whole mediaeval history of Italy. These Lombard leaders, fresh from the forests of Pannonia or the wide pastures of the *Feld*, were, doubtless, essentially men of the country; men who, like the old Scottish chief, 'would rather hear the lark sing than the mouse chirp.' Thus did Tacitus write of their ancestors, five centuries before the time with which we are now dealing: 'It is well known that none of

[1] The name of Alboin, duke of Milan, is not found in most of the MSS. of Paulus, and in the very ancient and valuable MS. in which it does occur (Codex Sangallensis 635), it is, the editor says, a correction by a later hand. In these circumstances we are bound to regard it with much suspicion, and it may very well be, as Weise holds (p. 37), the fanciful interpolation of some transcriber who thought Milan must appear in the list. On the other hand, there was nothing in the history of the great Alboin to induce a transcriber to connect his name specially with Milan: that name does not occupy the place of honour: and it would be most extraordinary that the duke of the great city of Mediolanum, so long the residence of Emperors, should not hold very high rank among the Lombard nobles. It is a mere question of one guess against another, but it seems to me quite as probable that the name—if it really did happen to be Alboin—may have dropped out of the text owing to the apparent contradiction to the previous narrative, as that it was inserted for the reason suggested by Weise.

[2] So says 'Continuatio Prosperi Havniensis,' 'Quo [Clepphone] mortuo per xii ann. absque rege fuere Langobardi: tantummodo duces praeerant, *inter quos primus Zafan Ticinensium dux.*'

the German tribes live in cities, nor can they even bear houses in a row. They dwell scattered and solitary, as a spring, a meadow or a grove may have taken the fancy of each[1].' Yet these rustic warriors, having come into the land of stately cities, at once succumbed to their fascinations, and became dwellers in cities themselves. Of course, military considerations, as well as sensual delights, determined such a change. The cities of Italy were there, erected at every point of vantage, covering the passage of rivers and the entrance into valleys; and, if they were not to be all levelled with the ground, it was needful that they should be held by Lombard garrisons. Still, whatever the cause, the result is clear and important. We see that the civic character of Italian life has conquered even its rough Pannonian conquerors. Lordship now, and for many long centuries in Italy, will be essentially lordship of a city. The Lombard dukes are turning the page on which great feudal nobles like the Estes, and clever and successful 'tyrants' like the Medici, will write their names in the centuries to come.

Historians have not informed us what were the thirty cities from which the lesser dukes took their titles. Probably a pretty correct idea concerning them may be derived from a study of the list of the Episcopal sees of Northern and Central Italy[2]. We may also safely assume that the duke of a city governed, not only the city itself, but a certain extent, sometimes a pretty large extent, of surrounding country. Here also we have

[1] Germania, xvi.

[2] This is the method adopted by Pabst (pp. 437–439), and he gives the names as follows, and makes up the number to thirty-one, including the six mentioned by Paulus. There would thus be

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an anticipation of mediaeval geography, of the time when 'the Milanese,' 'the Trevisan,' 'the Bolognese,' were well-known descriptions of territory.

Character of the rule of Lombard Dukes.

The rule of these mailed aristocrats was, as might have been expected, hard and grasping, animated by the narrowest ideas of Lombard patriotism. Many of the Roman (that is, native Italian) nobility were slain by the sword, simply that their possessions might go to enrich some hungry Lombard warrior. The rest were reduced into a condition of semi-serfdom, still holding their lands, but only on condition of paying over one third of their produce to that one of the unwelcome 'guests' to whom they had been

five cities still to seek: but undoubtedly Benevento and Spoleto, perhaps other cities in Southern Italy, should be added to the list.

Friuli.	Treviso.
Ceneda.	Vicenza.
Verona.	Turin.
Trient.	Mantua.
Brescia.	Altino.
Bergamo.	Mariana.
Novara.	Feltre.
Milan.	Belluno.
Pavia.	Cremona.
Reggio.	Como.
Parma.	Lodi.
Piacenza.	Vercelli.
Modena.	Tortona.
Brescello.	Alba Pompeia.
Asti.	Acqui.
Ivrea.	

For all, except the last ten, in this list Pabst considers that he can quote the authority of Paulus as proving them to have been Lombard dukedoms. Weise however (p. 37, n. 30) considers that Pabst has included in his list some cities (he does not say how many) which in 575 were not yet occupied by the Lombards.

assigned[1]. Harsh as this measure of spoliation was, the impoverished 'host' might console himself with the reflection that it might have been worse. Following the precedent set by Odovacar and Theodoric, the Lombards contented themselves (as has been said) with one third of the produce of the soil, while the Visigoths had taken two thirds, and the Burgundians a proportion varying between that fraction and a half.

Discontent of the Saxons with the Lombard yoke.

Not only, however, did the refined Roman landowner feel the weight of Lombard oppression in these years 'when there was no king' in Italy[2]. Among the barbarous tribes who had flocked to Alboin's standard, to share in the plunder of Italy, was a band of some 20,000 or 30,000[3] Saxons, who had brought with them their wives and children, intending to settle in the conquered land. To their great disgust, however, they found that their confederates would only suffer this on condition of their abandoning the laws and customs of their fathers and becoming altogether subject to Lombard rule[4].

[1] 'His diebus multi nobilium Romanorum ob cupiditatem interfecti sunt. Reliqui vero per hospites divisi, ut terciam partem suarum frugum Langobardis persolverent, tributarii efficiuntur' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 32). These 'tributarii' are identified with the *aldii*, of whom frequent mention is made in the laws of Rothari (643). It is rather singular that the word *aldius* is never used by Paulus.

[2] The indications of time in Gregory (Historia Francorum, iv. 42 and v. 15), our chief authority as to the Saxon migration which is about to be described, are rather vague. It is possible that it occurred in the years 572–573, before the commencement of the Interregnum.

[3] Paulus (H. L. ii. 6) makes them 'plus quam viginti millia.' According to Gregory they were still 26,000 in number after long journeys and frequent skirmishes.

[4] 'Certum est autem, hos Saxones ideo ad Italiam cum uxoribus

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Attempted migration of the Saxons.

The decision of the Saxons was soon and firmly taken: that they would abandon their new settlements and march back, with their families, to the home of their forefathers, rather than abandon their Saxon nationality. The story of their return, though it does not strictly belong to the history of Italy, is worth studying for the light which it throws on the manners of the times, and the thoughts of the wild barbarians who had streamed into Italy.

The land to which the Saxons wished to return was, apparently, the country afterwards known as Swabia, and formed part of the dominions of Sigibert, the Frankish king of Austrasia. The Saxons adopted a peculiar method of recommending themselves to the favour of their new sovereign. Crossing the Cottian Alps by the Col de Genèvre[1], they poured down into the plains of Dauphiné[2], and pitched their camp there. The rich villas were sacked; the inhabitants were carried captive; everywhere they spread desolation and ruin. The brave Romano-Gallic general, Mummolus, to whom Guntram, the Frankish king of Burgundy, had entrusted the defence of this region, came upon

et parvulis advenisse, ut in ea habitare deberent, sed quantum datur intelligi, noluerunt Langobardorum imperiis subjacere. Sed neque eis a Langobardis permissum est in proprio jure subsistere, ideoque aestimantur ad suam patriam repedasse' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 6). In short, the Saxons were to be 'Lombardised,' just as the Fins and the Germans of the Baltic provinces are now to be Russianised.

[1] We should have expected that they would take a pass further to the south, from the fact that they appear at Riez: but Gregory says expressly of their next invasion that one 'cuneus' went by Embrun (in the upper valley of the Durance), 'illam re verâ tenentes viam quam anno superiore tenuerant.'

[2] In the neighbourhood of Riez ('infra territurium Regensim, id est apud Stablonem villam,' Greg. H. F. iv. 42).

them suddenly, found them unprepared, and slaughtered them till nightfall. When morning dawned, it seemed as if the battle would be renewed, but messengers arrived in the camp of Mummolus, bearing rich presents, and offering, on the part of the Saxons, to surrender all their booty if only they might be allowed to repass the Alps into Italy. The offer was accepted, and the Saxon warriors, as they marched away, declared that they meant to return, not as the foes, but as the loyal subjects of the Frankish kings.

Their repulse by Mummolus.

Renewed attempt at migration.

Next year (apparently) the Saxons, finding their Lombard hosts inflexible, collected their wives and children and again marched into Gaul. They had divided themselves into two 'wedges,' one of which marched along the Riviera to Nice and the other by the old road into Dauphiné. It was the time of the ingathering of fruits, and everywhere around them they saw the golden sheaves standing in the fields and all the fatness of the fruitful land. The simple barbarians, like felons let loose in London, could not keep their hands from plunder. They gorged themselves and then their horses with the crops of the peasants of Dauphiné, and they even set fire to some of the villages. But when they reached the banks of the Rhone[1], they found the terrible Mummolus ready to execute judgment upon them. 'You shall not pass this stream,' he said, 'till you have made satisfaction to my lord. See how you have laid waste his kingdom, have gathered the crops, trampled down the oliveyards and vineyards, slain the flocks, cast

[1] Probably between Lyons and Geneva. They would not need to cross it where it flows north and south.

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fire into the houses. You shall not pass till you have made atonement to those whom you have reduced to poverty. Otherwise I will put your wives and little ones to the sword, and will avenge the injury done to Guntram my king.' The brutal Saxons quaked with terror, paid down many thousand golden *solidi* for their redemption, and were suffered to march on into the kingdom of Sigibert[1] on the east of the Rhine.

The Saxons defeated by the Swabians, who had occupied their old home.

When they reached their old homes they found them filled up with Swabians, whom Sigibert[2] had planted there when they themselves had started for Italy. The angry Saxons at once declared that they would sweep the intruders from the face of the earth. 'Take a third of our lands,' humbly pleaded the Swabians; but the offer was indignantly refused. 'Half?' 'Two thirds?' 'We will add all our cattle if only we may have peace.' Every proposition that could be made was contemptuously spurned by the Saxons, who, confident of victory, were already dividing among themselves by anticipation the wives and property of the hated Swabians. 'But the mercy of a just God,' says Gregory, 'turned their thoughts

[1] And here comes a strange story of Gregory's: 'The Saxons came to Clermont. It was then the time of spring. They offered there many brass medals in exchange for gold: but the brass was so cleverly coloured that any one examining them would think that they were genuine gold. Seduced by this wile, many persons became poor, giving gold in exchange for brass.' It is extremely difficult to see what the Saxons journeying to Austrasia could be doing at Clermont: and the words of Gregory, 'Erat tunc vernum tempus,' coming immediately after his talk of harvest and the vintage, do not lessen the difficulty.

[2] 'Et Clotharius,' says Gregory. But Chlotochar died seven years before Alboin's entrance into Italy.

into another direction. Of 26,000 Saxons who joined battle on that day, 20,000 were slain; of 6,000 Swabians only 480, and victory remained with their comrades. The survivors of the Saxons swore a great oath that they would cut neither hair nor beard till they had avenged them of their foes. But when they again rushed to battle they only incurred deadlier slaughter: and so at length there was rest from war[1].'

Blockade of Rome by the Lombards.

In the great work which lay before the Lombard nation, the conquest of the Italian peninsula and the expulsion of the officials who represented the majesty of the Eastern Augustus, but little progress was made by the confederated dukes. It is true that they were able grievously to harass the clergy and citizens of Rome. Already in 574 (perhaps before Cleph's assassination) such swarms of Lombards surrounded the Eternal City that communication with Constantinople was cut off, and after the death of Pope John III (13 July) more than ten months elapsed before his successor, Benedict I, could be chosen[2]. Famine

[1] This story of the Saxons, which is found both in Paulus and in Gregory, is a very good example of the way in which Paulus uses his materials. The language of Gregory is much improved by his copyist, though of course not yet brought up to a classical standard. The two narratives which Gregory most inartistically severs from one another (iv. 42 and v. 15)—probably because the first relates to the affairs of Burgundy, the second to those of Austrasia—are brought into one coherent whole. The strange and difficult story about the spurious money paid away at Clermont is wisely omitted. And above all we have from Paulus' own pen the invaluable passage (quoted above, p. 190) which explains the reason why the Saxons decided to quit Italy, namely, in order to preserve their national character. Gregory gives us no hint of this.

[2] 'Et cessavit Episcopatus menses x dies iii' (Liber Pontificalis in Vita Johannis III).

BOOK VI CH. 5. 573. followed in the steps of the marauding invaders. Hearing of the sufferings of the Roman citizens from hunger, the Emperor Justin ordered a fleet of corn-ships to sail from Egypt to the mouth of the Tiber. By this time the severity of the Lombard blockade must have been relaxed, for the mariners were able to ascend the Tiber and bring the longed-for relief to the hungering citizens.

Baduarius, son-in-law of the Emperor Justin II, sent to Italy.

In the year 575 a great Byzantine official appeared at the head of an army in Italy. This was Baduarius[1], the son-in-law[2] of the Emperor and Count of the Imperial Stables. He had shortly before been strangely insulted by Justin, whose long latent insanity was then beginning to show itself openly. The Emperor ordered his chamberlains to assault and buffet his son-in-law and then to drag him into the wondering Consistory, while still bearing the marks of their blows. Sophia, having heard of this outburst of frenzy, was much distressed thereat and administered conjugal reproof to her husband. He too, now that the paroxysm was over, repented of his violence and sought Baduarius in the stables to make his apologies. When the Count of the Stables saw the Emperor approaching he feared that he was about to repeat his outrages and leaped from manger to manger in order to escape. But the Emperor adjured him in God's name to abide where he was, went up to him, caught him by the arm and covered him with kisses. 'I have sinned against thee,' said he, 'but it was at the Devil's prompting. Now I pray thee receive me

[1] Called Bandarius by Joannes Biclarensis, but Baduarius, which we find in Theophanes, is probably the more correct form.

[2] Theophanes incorrectly calls him the brother of Justin.

again as thy father and thy Emperor.' Then Baduarius fell at the Emperor's feet, which he watered with his tears, and said, 'My lord! in thy hands is the supreme power over all of us: but as thou didst once treat thy servant contemptuously in the presence of thy counsellors, so now let these dumb creatures' (pointing to the horses) 'be witnesses of thy confession.' Whereupon the Emperor invited him to a banquet, and so he and his son-in-law were reconciled [1]. This was the man who was now sent to try conclusions with the Lombards. We hear, however, very little of the course of the campaign, except that Baduarius was overcome by them in battle and shortly after ended his life [2].

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575.

575.

Another Papal vacancy.

Again in 579 a vacancy in the Popedom is the cause of our being informed of that which was probably at this time the chronic condition of the regions round Rome, Lombard ravage and blockade [3]. After a little more than four years' occupancy of the Papal throne Benedict I died and was succeeded by the Roman Pelagius [4] (second of that name) who 'was ordained without the command of the Emperor, because the Lombards were besieging the City of Rome, and much devastation was being wrought by them in Italy. At the same time so great rains fell that all men said that the waters of the deluge were returning upon

Benedict I buried, July 31, 579.

Pelagius II Pope, Nov. 26, 579 to Feb. 7, 590.

[1] This odd story, which I quote as illustrating the servility of Byzantine courtiers of that day, is given us by Theophanes, s. a. 573.

[2] Joannes Biclarensis, s. a. 575.

[3] The capture of Petra Pertusa (see iv. 295) by the Lombards and its destruction by fire possibly took place in this year.

[4] The father of Pelagius was Vinigild. This looks like an Ostrogothic name.

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the earth, and so great was the loss of human life that the oldest inhabitant remembered nothing like it aforetime[1].'

The Romans cry to the Emperor for help.

In their distress the citizens called upon the Emperor, their natural protector, for help. Two embassies, apparently in the years 577 and 579, bore to the New Rome the lamentable cry of the Old. The first was headed by the Patrician Pamphronius and carried a tribute of 3,000 pounds weight of gold (about £120,000 sterling); the second consisted of senators and ecclesiastics, one of the latter class being probably the man who was to be afterwards the world-famous Gregory the Great.

Neither embassy obtained the military help which was so urgently required. The Persian war pressed heavily on the resources of the state, and a somewhat feeble, though well-intentioned, ruler was at the helm. For in the year after his strange encounter with Baduarius the madness of Justin II assumed so outrageous a form that it was deemed necessary to confine him to his palace and to associate with him a colleague who bore the humbler title of Caesar, but who was in reality supreme governor of the Empire. The new Caesar bore the ill-omened name of Tiberius, but was in character as unlike as possible to the suspicious and secluded tyrant of Capreae. Open-handed and generous to a fault, he shocked his Imperial patroness Sophia by the profusion with which he lavished his treasure on the poor; but he was rewarded for his munificence, as was told in a previous chapter, by the opportune discovery of the buried hoards of the eunuch Narses. This good-tempered

Tiberius II, Caesar, Dec. 574; Augustus, Oct. 578, died Aug. 14, 582.

[1] Liber Pontificalis: Vita Pelagii II.

but not strenuous monarch, before the second embassy reached Constantinople, had become in name as well as in fact supreme Augustus, by the death of his brain-sick colleague Justin II. In neither capacity, however, could he be persuaded to send any adequate supply of soldiers for the deliverance of Italy, but, true to his character as a giver, he sent money—in the first case returning the tribute brought by Pamphronius—which money was to be employed in buying off individual Lombard dukes, or, if that resource should fail, in hiring Frankish generals to lend their arms for the liberation of Italy[1].

Death of Justin II, Oct. 5, 578.

Rome relieved.

The policy thus pursued was not altogether ineffectual. Both on this and some later occasions Byzantine gold was found efficacious in detaching some members from the loosely-knit Lombard confederacy[2]. Farwald, duke of Spoleto, who had probably hitherto taken the lead in the ravages of Roman territory, seems to have, in some measure, withdrawn his forces from her immediate neighbourhood. But it was only the recoil before a deadlier spring. It was probably in the year 579[3] that Farwald with his Lombards appeared before the town of Classis, the sea-port of Ravenna. We are not told how long a resistance it offered, but it was eventually taken and despoiled of all the treasures which had been accumulated within

Classis taken by the Duke of Spoleto.

[1] Our information as to these embassies from Rome to Constantinople is furnished by Menander (Fragments 25 and 29 of De Legg. Barbarorum ad Romanos, in Bonn edition).

[2] Menander says, 'And now very many (πλεῖστοι) of the Lombard chiefs (τῶν δυνατῶν) went over to the Romans, accepting the Emperor's largess.' But this is perhaps too strongly stated.

[3] Weise's date, p. 47; Rubeus and others make the siege begin in 576.

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its walls during six centuries of security[1]. After the sack the Lombards seem still to have held on to the city, hard as it was to do so in the face of the superior naval forces of the Empire.

Lombard invasions of Gaul.

The chief events of the Lombard interregnum that remain to be noticed relate to the Lombard invasions of Gaul. Some of these invasions were made in the lifetime of Alboin and therefore should strictly have been described in the preceding chapter, but in order to give a continuous narrative I have purposely reserved them for this portion of the history.

Their impolicy.

It has been well pointed out by a German historian[2] that these attacks on their Frankish neighbours were utterly senseless and impolitic, mere robber-raids caused by nothing else than the freebooter's thirst for plunder. The one object which a Lombard statesman, whether he were called duke or king, should have set before himself was to consolidate the Lombard rule in Italy, to drive out the last representatives of the Empire, if possible to become master of the sea. Instead of firmly pursuing this aim, scarcely had the Lombards entered Italy when they began to swarm over the difficult passes of the Alps, to rob and ravage in Dauphiné and Provence. Thus did they make the old feud between themselves and the Franks, which a few generations of peaceful neighbourhood would perhaps have obliterated, an indelible national instinct

[1] 'Hac etiam tempestate Faroald, primus Spolitanorum dux, cum Langobardorum exercitu Classem invadens, opulentam urbem spoliatam cunctis divitiis nudam reliquit' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 13). This 'reliquit' makes it difficult to accept the view given above, but the account of its reconquest by Dovetulf (H. L. iii. 19) proves it.

[2] Dahn, Urgeschichte, iii. 146.

and, in fact, they thus prepared the levers which at length, after the lapse of two centuries, brought about the ruin of the Lombard monarchy at the hands of Frankish Charles.

Summary of Frankish history.

When we were last concerned with Frankish history we reached the point where the divided monarchy was reunited by Chlotochar I[1]. We must now glance at the well-known events which intervened between that reunion and the commencement of the Lombard interregnum.

Division of the kingdom between the sons of Chlotochar I.

For three years Chlotochar, the last surviving son of Clovis, reigned over the whole of the vast territory which had been won by the Frankish battle-axe. In 561 he died, and his kingdom was divided between his four sons. But the fourfold partition now, as in the previous generation, soon became threefold. Charibert, the king of Paris, died in 567[2], and thus the well-known sentence of Caesar, 'Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres,' was again true of Gaul and remained true for the rest of the century. It is true that, whatever might be the ostensible partition of the Gaulish territory, it was more and more tending to group itself into four—not three—great divisions, namely, Neustria, Austrasia, Burgundy and Aquitaine. But the last of these, the territory between the Loire and the Pyrenees, the territory which had been won from

[1] In 558 Childebert's death left Chlotochar sole ruler of the Franks. His succession to his great-nephew Theudebald in 555 was mentioned above, p. 46.

[2] The only mark which this dissolute and rather weak king has left in history is connected with our own island. His daughter Bertha was that Frankish princess whose marriage to Ethelbert, king of Kent, so powerfully helped the mission of St. Augustine.

Alaric the Visigoth, and which was one day to give the Plantagenet princes their great vantage-ground for the conquest of France, was during the latter part of the sixth century so split up and so squabbled over by the lords of the other portions, that, for the sake of clearness, it will be well to leave it out of sight altogether. Let us briefly consider the three other divisions and their rulers.

Guntram, king of Burgundy.

I. The region which still bore the name of BURGUNDY was substantially that which had obeyed the shifty Gundobad and his unwise son, Sigismund[1]. It embraced the later provinces of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, the greater part of Switzerland, Lyonnois, Nivernois and a considerable part of Languedoc. It was, in fact, 'the kingdom of the Rhone,' including almost the whole territory watered by that noble river and its tributaries except—a notable exception—that thin strip of fruitful territory at the mouth of the Rhone which still bore the name of Provincia, and still keenly remembered that it had been the first and the last of the Roman provinces in Gaul. Though the nucleus of the new kingdom was the old Burgundian domain it included some lands in the centre of Gaul, south and west of the Loire, which had never belonged to the Burgundians, and the king's capital was Orleans, a city which had never owned the sway of Gundobad. The king of this territory, from 561 to 593, bore the uncouth name of Guntchramn, a name for which I will venture to substitute, as many have done before me, the easier form, GUNTRAM. A good-tempered, easy-going man, who was not cruel, except when his interests seemed to call for cruelty, a man who took

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 357–8, and map of Gaul in that volume.

and put away wives and concubines with great facility, but was almost a moral man by comparison with the unbridled licentiousness of most of the Merovingian kings, Guntram has, by reason of his generosity to the Church and the comparative respectability of his character, obtained the honours of canonisation, though it is not often that we meet with an historian sufficiently attentive to the rules of ecclesiastical etiquette to call him *Saint* Guntram.

Our Lombard historian, Paulus, describes Guntram as 'a peaceful king and one conspicuous by all goodness.' He then proceeds to tell concerning him a story which he had probably heard at Châlon-sur-Saône[1] in the course of his travels through France, and which, as he states with a thrill of self-satisfaction, not even Gregory of Tours had related in his voluminous history of the Franks:—

'The good king Guntram went one day into the forest to hunt, and as his companions were scattered in various directions, he was left alone with one faithful henchman, on whose knees he, being weary, reclined his head and so fell fast asleep. From his mouth issued a little reptile, which ran along till it reached a tiny stream, and there it paused, as if pondering how to cross it. Then the henchman drew his sword out of its scabbard and laid it over the streamlet, and upon it the little creature crossed over to the other side. It entered into a certain cave of a mountain not far from thence, and returning after an interval again crossed the streamlet by the sword and re-entered the mouth of the sleeper. After these things Guntram,

[1] This is suggested by Jacobi, p. 95.

awaking from slumber, said that he had seen a marvellous vision. He dreamed that he crossed a river by an iron bridge, and entered a mountain in which he saw a vast weight of gold. Then he in whose lap his head had lain told him in their order the things which he had seen. Thereupon the king commanded an excavation to be made in that place, and treasures of inestimable value, which had been stowed away there in ancient days, were found therein. From this gold the king afterwards made a solid canopy[1] of great size and weight, which he adorned with most precious stones, intending to send it to the sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem. But as he could not do this, he ordered it to be placed over the shrine of the blessed martyr Marcellus, at Cavallonum (*Châlon-sur-Saône*), and there it is to this day, a work incomparable in its kind.' As I have said, it was probably from the priests in the chapel of the martyr that Paulus, in his travels, heard the marvellous tale.

Treasures buried in long departed days by kings of old, mysterious caves, reptile guides or reptile guardians—are we not transported by this strange legend into the very atmosphere of the Nibelungen-Lied? And if the good king Guntram passed for the fortunate finder of the Dragon-hoard, his brothers and their queens, by their wars, their reconciliations and their terrible avengings, must surely have suggested the main argument of that most tragical epic, the very name of one of whose heroines, Brunichildis, is identical with the name of the queen of Austrasia.

II. This kingdom of AUSTRASIA, the eastern land,

[1] *Ciborium*; the Italian *baldacchino*.

the name of which first meets us about this time[1], is the same region with which we have already made acquaintance under the government of the Frankish Theodoric and his descendants; a region extending, it may be roughly said, from Rheims to the Rhine, but spreading across the Rhine an unknown distance into Germany, claiming the allegiance of Thuringians, Alamanni, and Bavarians, fitfully controlling the restless Saxons, touching with warlike weapons and sometimes vainly striving with the terrible Avars.

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Sigibert, king of Austrasia

The capital of this kingdom was Metz—it is noteworthy how these royal partners always strove to fix their seats as near as possible to the centre of Gaul, as if to keep close watch on one another's designs—and the son of Chlotochar who reigned there as king was SIGIBERT.

Sigibert was the youngest, but the most capable and least vicious, of the royal brotherhood. Disgusted at the profligacy of all his brothers, who disgraced themselves by adulterous unions with the handmaids of their lawful wives, he determined to wed a princess of his own rank, and accordingly he wooed and won 566.
Brunichildis, daughter of Athanagild, the Visigothic king of Spain. A brave and high-spirited woman, Brunichildis, in the course of her long and strong career, became hard and unpitying as the rocks upon which she was dashed by the waves of her destiny; but the ten years of her union with Sigibert were the brightest portion of her life. The young Austrasian king and queen seem to have loved one another with

His marriage with Brunichildis.

[1] 'Merovechus . . . ad Brunichildam reginam pervenit, sed ab *Austrasiis* non est collectus' (Greg. Tur. H. F. v. 14).

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true and pure affection, and their story is an oasis in the desert of Frankish profligacy and shame.

Chilperic, king of Neustria.

III. The kingdom of CHILPERIC (who was half-brother to his three royal colleagues) is generally spoken of as the realm of NEUSTRIA. This name strictly belongs to a somewhat later period than that which we have yet reached [1], but as 'the western kingdom,' in antithesis to Austrasia, it conveniently expresses the territory ruled over by Chilperic, which was in fact the old kingdom of the Salian Franks, and comprised the Netherlands, Picardy, Normandy, and Maine, with perhaps some ill-defined sovereignty over the virtually independent Celts of Brittany. The capital of this kingdom was the ancestral seat of dominion, Soissons.

Chilperic's character is one of the strangest products of the strange anarchic period in which he lived. Cruel, lustful, avaricious—a man whom the kindly Gregory calls 'the Nero and Herod of our time [2]'—he nevertheless was, after the fashion of his age, a religious man—wrote sacred histories in verse, after the manner of Sedulius (it is true that his hexameters limped fearfully)—composed masses and hymns, and wrote a treatise on the Trinity, which he hoped to impose, Justinian-like, on his bishops and clergy, but the theology of which was so grossly heretical, that the prelates to whom he showed it could hardly be restrained from tearing it in pieces before his face.

Chilperic had already taken to himself many mis-

[1] The name Neustria does not occur in the works of Gregory of Tours. It is, I believe, first met with (under the form Neuster) in the history of 'Fredegarius' (circa 642).

[2] Hist. Franc. vi. 46.

tresses, whom he dignified with the name of wives; but when he heard of the rich and lovely young princess whom his younger brother had won for his bride, he was seized with jealousy, and vowed that he too would have a princess for his wife. An embassy to Athanagild, bearing the promise of a rich dower for the future queen in case she survived her husband, and an assurance that the palace should be purged of the concubines who then polluted it, was successful in obtaining the hand of a sister of Brunichildis, named Galswintha. The princess, who might almost seem to have had some forebodings of the dark fate reserved for her, clung to her home and her parents, and begged for delay; but the ambassadors insisted on her immediate return with them. State reasons prevailed, and the weeping Galswintha set forth upon her long journey, accompanied by her fond mother as far as the Pyrenees. There the mother and daughter parted; and the latter journeyed in a kind of triumphal procession through Gothic Gaul, and then through the territory of her future husband, till she reached the city of Rouen[1]. She was received with all honour by Chilperic, by whom she was loved with great affection, 'for' (says Gregory) 'she had brought with her great treasures.' On the day after the marriage, according to old Teutonic custom, he gave her as 'morning-gift' (*morgane-gyba*) Bordeaux and four other cities in the south-west of Gaul. These were to form her dower in case she survived her husband.

His marriage with Galswintha, 567.

[1] All this story of Galswintha's departure from her home and journey through Gaul is told, doubtless with some poetical amplification, by Venantius Fortunatus. (See Augustin Thierry's Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, pp. 32–36.)

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567.

For a short time all went well. Then one of Chilperic's concubines, Fredegundis, succeeded in recovering her lost footing in the palace; the king's old passion for her was rekindled, and the poor young Spanish bride was made to suffer daily insults and mortifications, such as, eleven centuries later, her countrywoman, the queen of Louis XIV, had to endure when she saw Montespan or La Vallière preferred before her. With pitiful pleading, Galswintha besought that she might leave her treasures behind her and return across the Pyrenees. Chilperic soothed her with kind words, but not many days after she was found dead in her bed, strangled by a slave, in obedience to her husband's orders. The royal hymn-writer professed to mourn for her for a few days, and then married Fredegundis.

Murder of Galswintha, and marriage with Fredegundis.

The wedding, the murder, the second marriage, all happened in the year 567. And now began that long duel between two beautiful and angry queens which for thirty years[1] kept the Frankish kingdoms in turmoil. Of Brunichildis I have already spoken. She was not by nature cruel, and might, perhaps, have passed through life with fair reputation, had not the longing for vengeance, first for a murdered sister, and then for a murdered husband, transformed her nature and turned her into a Fury. Fredegundis, evil from the first, utterly remorseless and cruel, had yet a magnetic power of attracting to herself those whom she would make the ministers of her wicked will. She ruled her husband with absolute sway, though strongly suspected of unfaithfulness to her own marriage vows. And whenever there was a rival to be disposed of,

Long struggle between Brunichildis and Fredegundis.

[1] Fredegundis died in 597.

a brother-in-law, a step-son, a dangerous confidant to be murdered, there was always to be found some young enthusiast, willing, nay eager, to do the deed, going to certain death for the sake of winning a smile from Fredegundis. In her marvellous power of fascination over men, she resembled a woman with whom, in all other respects, it would be a calumny to couple her name, Mary, Queen of Scots. With all her wickedness, Fredegundis must have been a brilliant and seductive Frenchwoman; and there is something about her strange demoniac power which reminds us of the evil heroines of the Renaissance.

The murder of Galswintha, followed by the marriage with her low-born rival, aroused the anger of the Franks, and Chilperic's brothers endeavoured to eject so atrocious an offender from their royal partnership[1]. In this, however, they do not seem to have been successful. If war was actually waged by Sigibert against the murderer (which is not clearly stated[2]), it was terminated by a more peaceful civil process, in which Guntram acted as arbiter between his brethren. The result of this process was as follows: but both its terms and the principles on which it was based would have been utterly unintelligible to any of the Roman jurisconsults who, two centuries before, abounded in the great cities of Gaul. 'The *morgane-gyba* of Galswintha was to form the *weregild* of Brunichildis.' In other words, the five cities of Aquitaine, which Chilperic had assigned to the murdered queen as her

Guntram's judgment in the case Sigibert *v.* Chilperic.

[1] Gregory even goes so far as to say, 'fratres . . . eum a regno dejiciunt.' But this seems to be too strong a statement.

[2] For some reason or other Gregory, who is usually so painfully minute, slurs over this part of the history.

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dower, were to be handed over to her sister and next of kin in atonement for the crime[1]. It would seem as if the decision had scarcely been given when the faithless Chilperic sought to overturn it; at any rate, it is in Bordeaux (one of the cities of the 'morning-gift') and its neighbourhood that we find him constantly attacking his brother of Austrasia, in the obscure wars which fill up the interval between 567 and 575. At length the dispute came to a crisis.

Sigibert invades Neustria, 575.

The fierce Austrasian warriors, Sigibert's subjects, were only too ready to pour themselves westwards into Neustria, and enjoy the plunder of its cities. Sigibert was a warrior and Chilperic apparently was not, though he shrank from no deed of cowardly violence. And Guntram, though the most uncertain and untrustworthy of allies, was at this time ranged, with some appearance of earnestness, on the side of Sigibert. The campaign went entirely in favour of the Austrasian army. It pressed on to Paris, to Rouen: Chilperic, beaten and cowed, was shut up in Tournay (his capital now, instead of Soissons): a large part of the Neustrian Franks consented to acclaim Sigibert as their sovereign instead of the unwarlike and tyrannical Chilperic. The ceremony took place at Vitry, near Arras, not far from the border of the two realms.

Murder of Sigibert.

Sigibert was raised on the shield and hailed as king by the whole army of the Franks; but almost

[1] We only hear of this singular decision by a clause in the treaty of Andelot, concluded twenty years later (587). 'De civitatibus vero, hoc est Burdegala, Lemovecas, Cadurcus, Benarno et Begorra, quae Gailesuinda, germana domnae Brunichilde, tam in dote, quam in *morganegiba*, hoc est matutinale donum, in Francia veniens certum est adquisisse,' &c. (Gregor. Hist. Franc. ix. 20).

in the moment of his triumph, two serving-men rushed upon him and dealt him a mortal wound on either side with their strong knives, which went by the name of *scaramaxes*. The weapons, it was said, had been steeped in poison by the hands of Fredegundis; the servants had been 'bewitched' by the terrible queen. There can be little doubt that for this murder, at least, she was justly held answerable by her contemporaries.

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So fell, in the prime of his life and vigour, the gallant Sigibert— 575.

'Titus, the youngest Tarquin: too good for such a brood.'

Had he lived and attained, as he well might have done, to the sole dominion of the Franks, the course of European history might have been changed. He would hardly, one thinks, have propagated so feeble a race as the *fainéant* kings who issued from the loins of the kings of Neustria; he would almost certainly have checked the growing audacity, and resisted the overweening pretensions, of the nobles of Austrasia.

Fortunes of Brunichildis.

Brunichildis, with her children, was at Paris (the capital of the late king Charibert) when the terrible news reached her of the murder of Sigibert—a crime which utterly reversed the position of affairs, and made her a helpless outcast in the land of her deadly foe. Her little son Childebert, a child of five years old, was carried off by one of Sigibert's generals, who succeeded in conveying him safely to Metz, where he was accepted by the Austrasian warriors as his father's successor. Thus began a reign which lasted for twenty-one years—one which was upon the whole prosperous, and which had many points of contact

Accession of Childebert, 575–596.

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with the history of the Lombard neighbours of Austrasia. As Childebert, however, was only twenty-six when he died, it is evident that during the greater part of his nominal reign, the actual might of royalty must have been in other hands than his. In fact it seems to have been during his long minority that the power of the great Austrasian nobles (who must have formed a sort of self-constituted Council of Regency) began distinctly to overshadow the power of the crown. Our justification for lingering over these events, which apparently belong to purely Frankish history, is that we are here watching the beginnings of that singular dynasty of officials, the Mayors of the Palace, whose descendant was one day to overthrow the Lombard monarchy.

As for Brunichildis, she, like the Kriemhild of the great German poem after the death of her glorious young hero Siegfried, lived but to avenge his death; and, like Kriemhild, she sought to compass her revenge by a second marriage, the natural resource of a young and beautiful woman in a lawless generation, which was ready to trample under foot the rights of the widow and the fatherless. It was, perhaps, for this reason that she did not attempt to return to Austrasia. Taken prisoner by Chilperic, she was despoiled of all her treasures and sent to live in banishment at Rouen. Thither, before long, came Merovech, the son of Chilperic by one of the many wives whom he had married before Galswintha. He saw the beautiful widow and loved her, and, though she as his uncle's wife was within the forbidden degrees of relationship[1], he was

[1] It is sometimes said that Brunichildis must have been older than her second husband. I do not think that this can be proved.

married to her within a few months of her first husband's death, by Praetextatus, bishop of Rouen. Great was the wrath of Chilperic, greater still probably the rage of Fredegundis, when they heard that the hated Gothic princess had thus made good her footing in their own family, and was the wife of the young warrior to whom all Franks looked forward as chief of the descendants of Clovis in the next generation. Chilperic marched to Rouen, intending to arrest the newly-wedded pair, but they fled to the church of St. Martin at Tours, whose inviolable sanctity Chilperic was forced to respect. On receiving his promise that he would not separate them 'if such were the will of God,' Merovech and his wife came forth. The kiss of peace was exchanged, and the king, his son and his new daughter-in-law banqueted together. Notwithstanding his oath, however, Chilperic insisted on his son's accompanying him to Soissons, while Brunichildis appears to have returned to Austrasia. Merovech fell under suspicion, perhaps just suspicion, of complicity with some rebels who attacked the city of Soissons, where Fredegundis was then dwelling. He was again arrested, shorn of the long hair which was the glory of a Merovingian prince, and forcibly turned into an ecclesiastic. Another escape, a long sojourn in the sanctuary at Tours, a visit to Austrasia (where he was coldly received by the nobles, who desired the presence of no full-grown scion of the royal house among them), and then an ill-judged expedition into his father's

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575.

Marriage of Brunichildis and Merovech.

Anger of Chilperic.

Chilperic was twelve years older than Sigibert, and the latter was thirty-one when he married a wife of perhaps twenty-one. It is quite possible that both Merovech and Brunichildis were born about 545.

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kingdom followed. He was again taken prisoner and lodged in an inn, while his captors sent messengers to his father to ask what should be done with him. But meanwhile he had said to his henchman Gailen, 'Thou and I have hitherto had but one mind and one purpose. I pray thee let me not fall into the hands of mine enemies, but take this sword and rush with it upon me.' This Gailen did; and when Chilperic arrived he found his son dead. But some said that Merovech never spake those words to his henchman, but that the fatal blow was struck by order of Fredegundis.

Death of Merovech, 577.

The romance of Brunichildis' second marriage—at any rate in the fragmentary shape in which it exists in the pages of Gregory—is a disappointing one. Even Brunichildis seems to falter and hesitate in her great purpose of revenge for the death of Sigibert, and Merovech seems to spend most of his time cowering as a suppliant by the tomb of St. Martin. And the least romantic part of the story is the calmness with which the newly-wedded couple bear their separation from one another; a separation which it was apparently in their power at any time to have ended.

Family afflictions of Chilperic.

The remainder of the reign of Chilperic was chiefly memorable for the afflictions which befell him in his family. One after another of the sons of his earlier marriage, young men just entering upon manhood, fell victims to the jealous hatred of their step-mother; and as if to punish her for her cruelty, one after another of her own sons died in infancy. The sons of Guntram also perished in their prime; it seemed as if the whole lineage of Clovis might soon fail from off the earth. Wars, purposeless but desolating, were waged between the three Frankish kingdoms, and in some of these wars,

strange to say, Childebert—that is to say the counsellors of Childebert—were found siding with Chilperic, his father's murderer, against the easy-tempered Guntram. This, however, was only a passing phase; as a rule Austrasia and Burgundy stood together against Neustria. The chief characteristic of the rule of Chilperic was the increasing stringency of his financial exactions, not merely from his Roman, but from his Frankish subjects, and the jealousy, a well-grounded jealousy, with which he regarded the growing power and possessions of the Church. 'He would often say, "Behold! our treasury remains poor; behold! our riches are transferred to the churches; none reign at all save the bishops; our honour perishes and is all carried over to the bishops of the cities." With this thought in his mind, he continually quashed the wills which were drawn up in favour of the churches, and thus he trampled under foot his own father's commands, thinking that there was now none left to guard their observance[1].' No wonder that such a prince—whom even secular historians must hold to have been a profoundly wicked man—figures in an ecclesiastic's pages as 'the Nero and Herod of our time.'

Murder of Chilperic, 584.

At length, in the fifty-second year of his age, Chilperic met that violent death, which in the sixth century was —almost as much as the long hair that floated around their shoulders—the note of a Merovingian prince. He went to his country-house at Chelles[2], about twelve miles from Paris, and there amused himself with hunting. Coming back one evening in the twilight from the chase, he was about to dismount from his horse, and had already put one hand on the shoulder of his

[1] Gregory, Hist. Franc. vi. 46. [2] Villam Calensem.

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groom, when some one rushed out of the darkness and stabbed him with a knife, striking one blow under the armpit, and one in his belly. 'The blood gushed out from his mouth and from the two wounds, and so his wicked spirit fled[1].'

The author and the motive of the assassination of Chilperic remained a mystery. We do not even hear the usual details as to the death by torture of the murderer, and it seems possible that in the obscurity of the night and the loneliness of the forest he may have succeeded in escaping. Fredegundis was accused of this, as of so many other murders. It was said that Chilperic had discovered her infidelity to her marriage vows, and that she forestalled his inevitable revenge by the hand of a hired assassin. This explanation, however, seems in the highest degree improbable. No one lost so much by the death of Chilperic as his widow; hurled, like her rival Brunichildis, in one hour from the height of power to helplessness and exile, and obliged to seek temporary shelter at the court of the hospitable Guntram.

After all its vicissitudes, the family of Chilperic at his death consisted only of one babe of three years old, named, after its grandfather, Chlotochar. This child, who was destined one day to reunite all the Frankish dominions under his single sceptre, was at once proclaimed king, the reins of government being assumed, not by Fredegundis, but by some of the more powerful nobles, and thus Neustria had to pass through even a longer minority than that from which Austrasia was now slowly emerging. There can be little doubt that these long periods of obscuration of the royal power, however welcome to the great nobles who exercised

Chlotochar, king of Neustria, 584-628.

[1] Gregory, Hist. Franc. vi. 46.

or controlled the authority of the regent, were deplored by the poorer Franks and by the Gallo-Roman population, to whom even the worst king afforded some protection from the lawless violence of the aristocracy.

But our rapid review of Frankish history, which began with the eleventh year of the government of Narses, has taken us on to the end of the Lombard Interregnum. It is time now to turn back and fit the Lombard invasions of Gaul into the framework of Frankish history.

First Lombard invasion of Gaul, 568.

The year of the Lombard irruption into Italy was, it will be remembered, 568. This was one year after the murder of Galswintha, and at a time therefore when the relations between Sigibert and Chilperic were probably strained to the utmost; and yet, strange to say, it was rather against Burgundy than against Neustria that the arms of Austrasia were at this time directed. Sigibert wrested Arles from his brother Guntram; then he lost Avignon: but these struggles, purposeless and resultless as they were, perhaps distracted the attention of the Burgundian generals and made a Lombard invasion possible. We are vaguely told[1] that 'in this year the Lombards dared to enter the neighbouring regions of Gaul, where a multitude of captives of that nation [i.e. the Lombards] were sold into slavery.' Evidently the invasion, whithersoever directed, was a failure. Probably it was made only by isolated bands of marauders without concert or leadership[2].

[1] By Marius Aventicensis, s. a. 569 (=568).

[2] Weise (p. 16, n. 58) puts this invasion in 569, because he thinks the usual error of one year in the calculations of Marius does not apply here. But the fact that it is the same year as that of Alboin's invasion of Italy seems to compel us to assign it to 568. [For a different view cf. Crivellucci (Studi Storici, v. 125).]

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Second Lombard invasion of Gaul, 570.

The next invasion which was made, probably in the year 570[1], was more successful. The Lombards made their way probably by one of the passes of the Maritime Alps into Provence. Amatus (whose name makes it probable that he was a man of Gallo-Roman extraction) held that region for king Guntram, wearing the Roman title of Patrician[2]. He delivered battle to the Lombards, was defeated and fled. A countless number of Burgundians lay dead upon the field, and the Lombards, enriched with booty, the value of which their barbarous arithmetic could not calculate, returned to Italy[3].

Character of Mummolus the new general of the Franks.

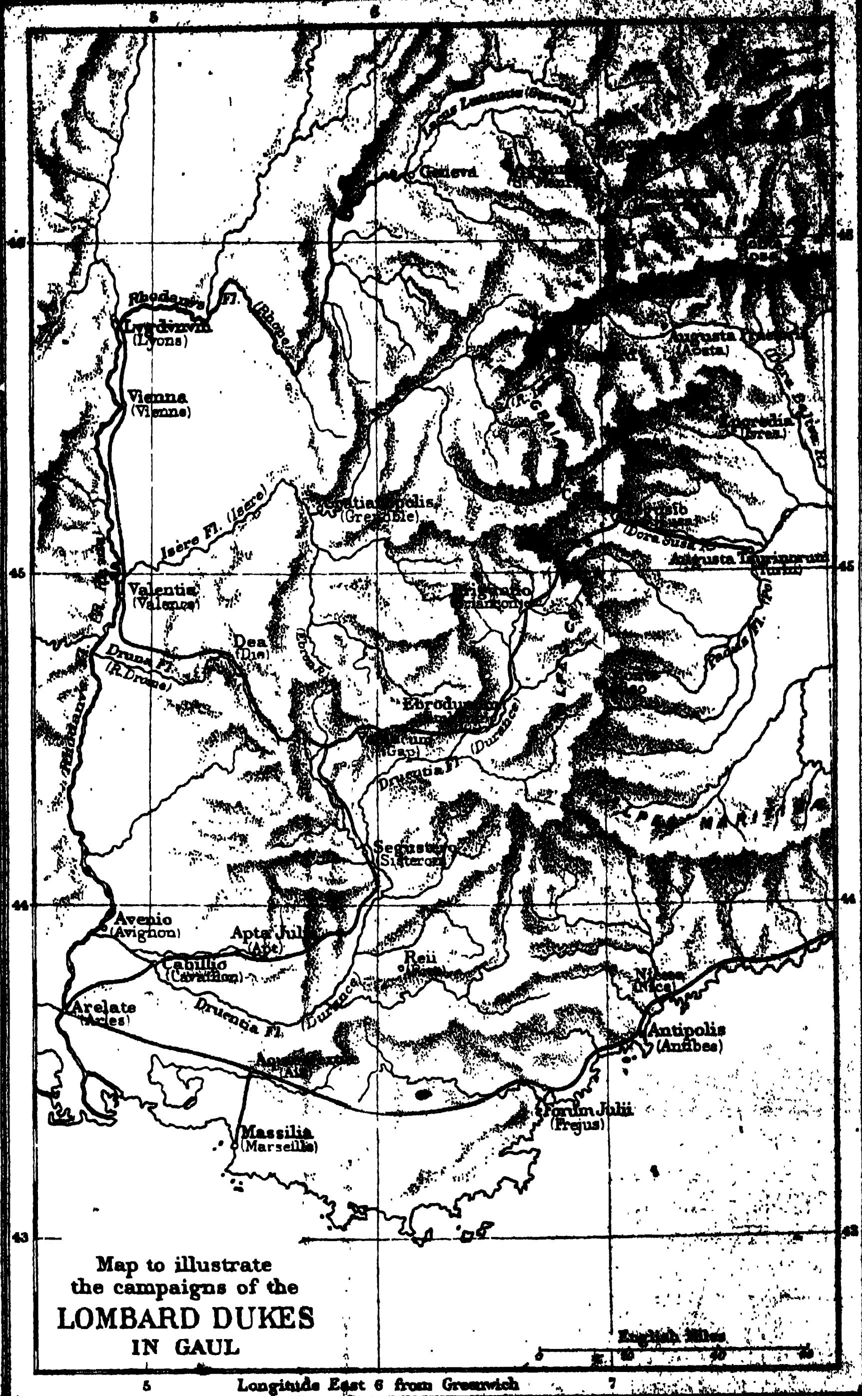
In the room of the defeated, perhaps slain, Amatus, king Guntram conferred the dignity of Patrician on Eunius, surnamed Mummolus, and with his appointment an immediate change came over the scene. Though a grasping and selfish man, Mummolus was a brave soldier, and if, as seems probable, he too, like Amatus, was a Gallo-Roman by birth, his career was a proof that there was still some martial spirit left in the descendants of the old provincials of Gaul. His father, Peonius, had been count of Auxerre, and entrusted to Mummolus the usual gifts by which—perhaps on the accession of Guntram—he hoped to obtain the renewal of his office[4]. The faithless son,

[1] Exact chronology is here impossible; but the fact that Celsus, the predecessor of Amatus in the Patriciate, died in 570, proves that this invasion was at any rate not earlier than 570.

[2] Notice that Paulus calls him *Patricius Provinciae*.

[3] Paulus, H. L. iii. 3, copied from Gregory, H. F. iv. 42.

[4] 'Cumque ad renovandam actionem munera regi per filium transmisisset, ille, datis rebus paternis, comitatum patris ambivit, subplantavitque genitórem quem sublevare debuerat' (Greg. H. F. iv. 42).


Geneva
Rhodanus Fl.
(Rhone)
Lugdunum
(Lyons)
Vienna
(Vienne)
Gratianopolis
(Grenoble)
Isère Fl. (Isère)
Valentia
(Valence)
Dea
(Die)
Druna Fl.
(R. Drome)
Augusta
(Aosta)
Eporedia
(Ivrea)
Augusta Taurinorum
(Turin)
Ebrodunum
(Gap)
Druentia Fl.
Segustero
(Sisteron)
Avenio
(Avignon)
Apta Julia
(Apt)
Cabillio
(Cavaillon)
Reii
(Riez)
Arelate
(Arles)
Druentia Fl.
(Durance)
Nicaea
(Nice)
Antipolis
(Antibes)
Forum Julii
(Frejus)
Massilia
(Marseille)
Map to illustrate
the campaigns of the
LOMBARD DUKES
IN GAUL
English Miles
Longitude East 6 from Greenwich

however, obtained the dignity, not for his father, but for himself, and having thus placed his foot on the official ladder, continued to mount step by step till he reached, as we have seen, the dignity of the Patriciate, which was probably still considered the highest that could be bestowed on a subject.

BOOK VI. CH. 5. 571.

Third Lombard invasion of Gaul, 571.

In the following year (apparently) the Lombards again invaded Gaul, not now by the Maritime Alps, but by the Col de Genèvre. They reached a point near to Embrun[1] in the valley of the Durance; but here they were met by Mummolus, who drew his army all round them, blocked up with *abattis*[2] the main roads by which they might have escaped, and then falling upon them by devious forest paths took them at such disadvantage as to accomplish their entire defeat. A great number of the Lombards were slain; some were taken captive and sent to king Guntram, probably to be sold as slaves: only a few escaped to their own land to tell the story of this, the first of many Lombard defeats which were to attest the military skill of Mummolus. Ecclesiastics heard with horror that in this battle two brothers and brother-prelates, Salonius and Sagittarius—the former bishop of Embrun and the latter of Gap—had borne an active

[1] 'Usque Mustias Calmes accedentibus, qui locus Ebredunensi adjacet civitati' (Greg. et Paul. u. s.). The note in M. H. G. is 'Fortasse Chamousse, Ebreduni ad septentrionem'; but no one seems to be very positive as to the locality of Chamousse. I should have thought one of the two or the three places called Monestier in the valley of the Ebron would have been worth considering. The name of the Ebron itself seems to suggest a possible connexion with 'Ebredunensis civitas.' It is worthy of note that one of the MSS. of Paulus for 'Mustias Calmes' reads 'Brientum,' evidently thinking of Briançon.

[2] 'Factis concidibus.'

BOOK VI. CH. 5. 571. part, 'armed, not with the heavenly cross, but with helmet and coat of mail,' and, which was worse, had slain many with their own hands[1]. But this was only one, and in fact the least censurable, of many irregularities and crimes committed by this lawless pair, who had already a few years before (in 566) been deprived of their sees by the Council of Lyons, but had been replaced therein by the Pope. Again, at a later period, deposed and confined in separate monasteries, they were once more let out by the good-natured Guntram
579. and again condemned by a council. The end of Salonius is unknown. Sagittarius, as we shall shortly see, came to a violent end in consequence of joining a conspiracy against king Guntram. Such were some of the bishops of Gaul in the sixth century, though it must be admitted that few were as wildly brutal and licentious as Salonius and Sagittarius.

In the years immediately following the invasion, Mummolus distinguished himself by that successful campaign against the Saxon immigrants of which mention was made in the earlier part of this chapter.
Fourth Lombard invasion of Gaul, 574. Then somewhat later still, in the year which witnessed the assassination of Cleph the Lombard king, a large army[2] of Lombards under the command of duke Zaban again entered the dominions of king Guntram. This time, however, it was not against Dauphiné but against Switzerland that their ravages were directed. They went, doubtless, northward by the Great St. Bernard Pass from Aosta to Martigny, and descended into that long Alp-bounded parallelogram through which the young Rhone flows, and which then as now bore pre-

[1] Mentioned by Gregory, not by Paulus.

[2] 'Maximum robur,' Contin. Prosperi Havniensis.

574.

eminently the name of 'the Valley[1].' They reached the great monastery of Agaunum (now St. Maurice), scene of the devotions and the vain penitence of Burgundian Sigismund[2], and there they tarried many days, perhaps engaged in pillaging the convent, though this is not expressly stated by the monkish chronicler[3] from whom we derive our information. At length, at the town of Bex, a little way down the valley from St. Maurice, they suffered so crushing a defeat at the hands of the Frankish generals, that but a few fugitives, duke Zaban among the number, succeeded in recrossing the mountains and reaching Italian soil.

Fifth invasion, under three dukes, Zaban, Amo, and Rodan, 575.

Undaunted by this terrible reverse, in the next year[4] the Lombards resumed their irritating inroads into Gaul. This time Zaban was accompanied by two other dukes, Amo and Rodan, the names of whose cities have not been recorded. The three armies all went by the same road till they had crossed the Alps. This was that to which allusion has already been made, and which is still the well-known pass of the Mont Genèvre. Though one of the lowest in the great chain of the Alps and frequently traversed by Roman generals,

[1] Canton Valais: 'in Vallem ingressi sunt.'

[2] See vol. iii. p. 410.

[3] Marius Aventicensis, s. a. 574: 'Eo anno iterum Langobardi in Valle[m] ingressi sunt, et clusas obtinuerunt et in monasterio Sanctorum Acaunensium' (are these St. Maurice and St. Sigismund?) 'diebus multis habitaverunt et postea in Baecis pugnam contra exercitum Francorum commiserunt ubi pene ad integrum interfecti sunt, pauci fuga liberati.' I think 'clusas' means 'the passes,' and is not a proper name. The Continuatio Prosperi Havniensis adds a few particulars, and mentions the name of Zaban (or, as he calls him, Zafan) as the leader.

[4] Probably, but all these dates are more or less conjectural. Neither Gregory nor Paulus gives us accurate notes of time here.

BOOK VI. CH. 5. 575.

it is, at the summit, nearly 6,500 feet high[1]. Leaving the city of Turin in the great plain of Piedmont, the road ascends the beautiful valley of the Dora Susa till it reaches the little town of Susa, where a triumphal arch still preserves the memory of Augustus, the founder of the Colony of Segusio. A steep climb of several hours leads to the summit of the pass and the watershed between the two streams, the Dora Riparia which flows eventually into the Po, and the Clairet which flows into the Durance. The Roman road from this point turned sharply to the south and followed the course of the Durance till it reached the neighbourhood of Arles. In doing so it passed the little cities of Ebrodunum (*Embrun*) and Vapincum (*Gap*), the seats of the two bellicose bishops, Salonius and Sagittarius. In all the story of these campaigns Embrun in the valley of the Durance plays an important part. It was apparently a sort of mustering place for the invaders both after crossing and before recrossing the Cottian Alps.

From this starting-point the three dukes diverged in order to make three separate raids into south-eastern Gaul.

March of Amo.

(1) Amo, keeping to the great Roman road, descended into 'the province of Arles,' which he ravaged and

[1] Some of the stages in the road 'A Mediolano per Alpes Cottias ad Viennam' are thus enumerated in the Antonine Itinerary:—

Taurinis (Turin).			
Ad Fines	Millia	Passuum	xvi.
Segusione (Susa) . .	,,	,,	xxiv.
Ad Martis	,,	,,	xvi.
Brigantione (Briançon)	,,	,,	xix.
Ramae	,,	,,	xviii.
Eburoduno (Embrun)	,,	,,	xvii.
Caturrigas (Chorgas) .	,,	,,	xvi.
Vapinco (Gap) . . .	,,	,,	xii.

perhaps hoped to subdue. He paid a hostile visit to a villa[1] in the neighbourhood of Avignon which Mummolus had received as a present from his grateful king. He threatened Aquae Sextiae (Aix) with a siege, but on receiving 22 lbs. of silver[2], he marched away from the place. He did not penetrate as far as Marseilles itself, but only to the 'Stony Plain,' which adjoined that ancient seaport, and he carried off large herds of cattle as well as many captives from the Massilian territory.

March of Zaban.

(2) Duke Zaban took the road which branched off from Gap and led north-westward through Dea (*Die*) to Valentia (*Valence*) at the confluence of the Isère and the Rhone, and there he pitched his camp.

March of Rodan.

(3) Higher up on the course of the Isère, in a splendid amphitheatre of hills, lies the stately city of Grenoble, recalling by its Roman name Gratianopolis the memory of the brilliant young Emperor Gratian. To this city duke Rodan laid regular siege. Mummolus, hearing these tidings, moved southwards with a strong army and first attacked the besiegers of Grenoble. 'While his army was laboriously crossing the turbid Isère, an animal, by the command of God, entered the river and showed them a ford, and thus the whole army got easily through to the opposite shore[3].' The Lombards flocked to meet them with drawn swords, but were defeated, and duke Rodan, wounded by a lance, fled to the tops of the mountains. With 500 faithful followers he made his way to Valence through the trackless Dauphiné

[1] Machoa-villam.

[2] Only £66 sterling; a most moderate ransom.

[3] This is told us by Gregory. Paulus, though here following Gregory very closely, omits this incident. Probably he could not bring himself to admit that Heaven fought against the Lombards.

BOOK VI. CH. 5. 575.

forests—the high road by the Isère being of course blocked by Mummolus. He told his brother-duke Zaban all that had occurred, and they jointly decided on retreat. Burning and plundering they had made their way into the valleys of the Rhone and the Isère: burning and plundering they returned to Embrun.

Retreat of Zaban and Rodan.

At Embrun Zaban and Rodan were met by Mummolus at the head of a 'countless' army. Battle was joined; the 'phalanxes' of the Lombards were absolutely cut to pieces, and with a few of their officers, but far fewer, relatively, of the rank and file, the two dukes made their way back over the mountains into Italy. When they reached Susa they were coldly and ungraciously received by the inhabitants. The reason for this coldness, which does not seem to have passed into actual hostility, was that Sisinnius, Master of the Soldiery, was then in the city as the representative of the Emperor[1]. There was no bloodshed, but a little southern astuteness freed the good town of Susa from its unwelcome visitors. While Zaban was conferring with Sisinnius (perhaps arranging as to the billeting of the remnant of the Lombard army), a man entered who feigned himself to be the slave of Mummolus. He greeted Sisinnius in his master's name, handed him letters, and said, 'These are for thee from Mummolus. He is even now at hand.' At these

[1] 'Cumque usque Sigusium urbem perlati fuissent [Zaban et Rodanus] et eos incolae loci dure susciperent, praesertim cum Sisinnius magister militum a parte imperatoris in hac urbe resideret, simolatus Mummoli puer in conspectu Zabanis Sisinnio litteras protulit salutemque ex nomine Mummoli dedit, dicens "En ipsum in proximo!" Quod audiens Zaban, cursu veloci ab urbe ipsa digressus praeteriit.' Gregorius Turon. iv. 44 (followed pretty closely by Paulus, iii. 8).

words (though in truth Mummolus was nowhere in the neighbourhood) Zaban and Rodan left the city with all speed and retreated panic-stricken to their homes.

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575.

Retreat of Amo.

When tidings of all these disasters were brought to Amo in the province of Arles, he collected his plunder, and sought to return across the mountains. The snow, however, had now begun to fall on the Mont Genèvre, and so blocked his passage that he had to leave all his booty and many of his soldiers behind. With much difficulty and accompanied by only a few of his followers, Amo succeeded in returning to his own land. So disastrously ended the expedition of the three dukes. 'For,' as the Frankish historian truly says, 'they were all terrified by the valour of Mummolus[1].'

Territorial changes caused by these expeditions.

After the failure of this expedition we hear of no further invasion of Gaul by the Lombard dukes. The only result of these invasions (except memories which must long have made the name of Lombard hateful to the inhabitants of Dauphiné and Provence) was an extension of territory over the crest of the Alps in favour of the Franks of Burgundy, and at the expense of the Lombards. Ecclesiastical charters[2] prove that about the year 588, the upper valley of the Dora Baltea, with its chief city Aosta, and that of the Dora Susa, with its chief city Susa, were treated as undoubted portions of the dominions of king Guntram, and were spoken of as having been formerly in Italy, but annexed by him[3]. These two cities and the

[1] This sentence is omitted by Paulus.

[2] Published by Troya (Codice Diplomatico Longobardo, Nos. 19, 20, and 21).

[3] 'Seusiam quae est in Italia Mauriennensis ecclesie subditam fecit rex' (Troya, u. s., No. 20). 'Ad quam ecclesiam Maurien-

BOOK VI. CH. 5.

regions surrounding them occupied the *Italian* side of the two great practicable passes of that time—the Great St. Bernard and the Mont Genèvre. There can be little doubt that their occupation by Frankish generals was at once the result of the campaigns which have been just described, and the cause that the Lombard invasions of Gaul were not renewed[1].

After-history of Mummolus.

The after-career of Mummolus, the brave champion of Burgundy against the invading Lombards, forms one of the most striking pages in Gregory's history of the Franks, but is too remote from our subject to be related here in any detail. In an evil hour for himself he deserted the master whom he had hitherto served so faithfully, and took up with a pretender, probably base-born and certainly mean-spirited, who was named Gundovald and called himself son of Chlotochar. The soldiers of the pretender, led by Mummolus, obtained some temporary successes, but in 585 Guntram sent a powerful army against him, and, at

nensem . . . Seusiam civitatem jamdudum ab Italis acceptam cum omnibus pagensis (pagensibus) ipsius loci subjectam fecit [rex Gontrannus]'(ibid., No. 21). This last document is a recital of the original charter (perhaps dating from the eighth century). Hence the words '*jamdudum* ab Italis acceptam.'

[1] The so-called Fredegarius also mentions these conquests (Lib. iv. cap. 45), and connects them with the invasions during the interregnum: 'Quo ordine duas civitates Agusta et Siusio cum territuriis ad partem Francorum cassaverant, non abscondam. Defuncto Clep eorum principe, duodecim duces Langobardorum 12 annis sine regibus transegerunt. Ipsoque tempore per loca in regno (*sic*) Francorum proruperunt; ea praesumptione in compositione Agusta et Siusio civitates cum integro illorum territurio et populo partibus Gunthramni tradiderunt.' He also mentions the cession of 'vallem cognomento Ametegis' to Guntram. This is considered to be that in which Aosta is situated. See Weise, p. 55, n. 117.

the mere rumour of its approach, Gundovald's party began to crumble, and he and Mummolus were forced to take refuge in Convenae (now Comminges), a little city perched on one of the outlying buttresses of the Pyrenees. Gundovald made a plaintive appeal to the Burgundian general, Leudegisclus, that he might be allowed to return to Constantinople, where he had left his wife and children. The general only scoffed at the meek petition of 'the painting man, who used in the time of king Chlotochar to daub his pictures on the walls of oratories and bed-chambers.' After the siege of Convenae had lasted fifteen days, secret communications passed between Leudegisclus and Mummolus, the result of which was that the latter persuaded or forced Gundovald to go forth and trust himself to the faintly hoped for mercies of the foe. Vain was the hope: no sooner was he outside the city than one of Guntram's generals gave him a push, which sent him headlong down the steep hill on which Convenae was built. The fall did not kill him, but a stone from the hand of one of his former adherents broke the pretender's skull and ended his sorrows. Vengeance was not long in overtaking his betrayers; one of whom was that same turbulent Bishop Sagittarius, whom we have already seen fighting with carnal weapons against the Lombard invaders. Leudegisclus sent a secret message to his king, asking how he was to dispose of them. 'Slay them all' was the answer of 'good king Guntram.' Mummolus, having received some hint of his danger, went forth, armed, to the hut where Leudegisclus had his head-quarters. 'Why dost thou come thus like a fugitive?' said the Burgundian general. 'As far as I can see,' he answered, 'none of the

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promises made to us are being kept, for I perceive myself to be in imminent danger of death.' Leudegisclus said, 'I will go forth and put all right.' And going forth, he ordered his soldiers to surround the house and slay Mummolus. The veteran long kept his assailants at bay, but at length, coming to the door, he was pierced in the right and left sides by two lances, and fell to the earth dead. When Bishop Sagittarius, who had apparently accompanied Mummolus to the hut, saw this, he covered his head with his hood, and sought to flee to a neighbouring forest; but one of the soldiers followed him, drew his sword, and cut off the hooded head. Such was the ignoble end of Mummolus, who at one time bade fair to be the hero of Merovingian Gaul. The story[1] is a miserable record of brutality and bad faith. Not one of the actors keeps a solemnly plighted promise or shows a trace of compassion to a fallen foe. These Frankish and Gallo-Roman savages, with a thin varnish of ecclesiastical Christianity over their natural ferocity, have not only no conception of what their descendants will one day reverence as knightly honour, but do not even rise to the usual level of truthfulness attained by their heathen forefathers in the days of Tacitus[2].

The treasures of Mummolus came into the hands of king Guntram, who out of them caused fifteen massive silver dishes to be wrought, all of which, save two, he presented to various churches. And the residue of the

[1] Told by Greg. H. F. vii. 34–39.

[2] It must be admitted, however, that heathen or Christian, the Franks had always a bad name for violation of their plighted faith (see Salvian, vii. 15; IV. 14).

confiscated property he 'bestowed upon the necessities of the churches and the poor[1].' BOOK VI. CH. 5.

It is now time to return to the affairs of the Lombards, round whom the clouds were gathering in menacing fashion a year before the death of Mummolus. In the year 582, the Emperor Tiberius II, the generous and easy-tempered, had died and had been succeeded by his son-in-law Maurice, who as a general had won notable victories over the Persians, though he was eventually unsuccessful as a ruler, owing to his riding with a sharper curb than the demoralised army and nobles of Constantinople could tolerate.

Death of Tiberius II, Aug. 13, 582.

The eternal quarrel with Persia wore during these years a favourable aspect for the Empire, whose standards were generally victorious on the Tigris and in the mountains of Media, and the wild Avars on the Danubian frontier were for the moment at peace with their southern neighbours. Thus freed from his most pressing cares, Maurice began to scheme for the attainment of that object which could never be long absent from a Roman Emperor's thought—the recovery of Italy.

Already, before the death of Tiberius[2], an Austrasian army under duke Chramnichis had, from the Bavarian side, attacked the Lombards in the valley of the Adige; but after winning a signal victory it had at last been defeated and expelled from the country by Euin, duke

Austrasian army attacks the Lombards in the duchy of Trient.

[1] Greg. H. F. viii. 3.

[2] Weise assigns definitely the year 581 to this invasion. I do not see how we can fix on the precise year. The vague indications of Paulus (iii. 9) would suit any time between 577 and 584; nay, the 'Hoc tempore Sigisbertus occisus est' of iii. 10 would even throw it back as early as 575. But it is clear that we must not look for precise chronological accuracy in this part of Paulus' history.

BOOK VI. CH. 5.

584.

of Trient. The court of Constantinople had doubtless heard of this invasion, and knew that it would find in the nobles, who governed Austrasia during Childebert's minority, willing helpers against the hated Lombards. Troops indeed could not yet be spared from the Persian war, but money, as in the days of the lavish Tiberius, could still be sent. The ambassadors of Neustrian

The Emperor subsidises Childebert.

Chilperic had received from Tiberius certain wonderful gold medals, each a pound in weight, bearing on the obverse side the Emperor's effigy, with the inscription TIBERII CONSTANTINI PERPETUI AUGUSTI, and on the reverse, a chariot and its driver, with the motto GLORIA ROMANORUM [1]. A more useful, if less showy gift, now (in the year 584) reached the court of the Austrasian king. The ambassadors of Maurice brought him a subsidy of 50,000 *solidi* (£30,000) and a request 'that he would rush with his army upon the Lombards and utterly exterminate them out of Italy.' The young

Childebert invades Italy, 584.

Childebert, now about fourteen years of age, was permitted by his counsellors to lead his army across the Alps. The force which poured in from Austrasia (probably by the Brenner or some other of the eastern passes of the Alps) was too overwhelming for the Lombards to cope with it. They shut themselves up in their cities (whose fortifications, wiser than the Vandals, they had not destroyed) and saw the hostile multitudes sweep over the desolated plains. But though unable to meet the Franks in arms, they had other weapons which, as they probably knew, would be more efficacious with the

[1] The description of these marvellous medals, which Gregory had himself seen in the hands of the returning ambassadors at Nogent-sur-Marne, is given by him with childlike minuteness in the History of the Franks (vi. 2), and copied by Paulus (iii. 13).

greedy nobles of the Austrasian Court. They sent ambassadors who offered costly gifts, and, tempted by these, Childebert and his army retired. As a pecuniary speculation the invasion had been a complete success for the Franks. The 50,000 *solidi* were still almost untouched in the treasury of Metz, and though the Emperor Maurice loudly demanded the return of the money, he demanded in vain. To the same treasury were now carried the gifts of the Lombard dukes, gifts which doubtless consisted chiefly of their own plunder from the palaces of the Roman nobles, the work of generations of cunning craftsmen, while the Lombards were still wandering through Pannonian wildernesses. These gifts could, of course, be easily represented as tribute, and the returning Austrasians might boast that the Lombards had professed themselves servants of king Childebert. There was none to say them nay; and such is the colour put upon the treaty of peace by Frankish Gregory, but which disappears from the pages of his Lombard copyist[1].

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584.

The Lombards bribe him to retire.

[1] Gregory says (H. F. vi. 42), 'Childebertus vero rex in Italiam abiit. Quod cum audissent Langobardi, timentes ne ab ejus exercitu caederentur *subdederunt se ditioni* ejus, multa ei dantes munera ac promittentes se parte (*sic*) ejus esse fideles atque subjectos.' Paulus (iii. 17) simply says, 'Langobardi vero in civitatibus se communientes, intercurrentibus legatis oblatisque muneribus, pacem cum Childeperto fecerunt.'

CHAPTER VI.

FLAVIUS AUTHARI[1].

Authorities.

Sources:—

GREGORY OF TOURS and PAULUS. The latter seems to draw his materials for the reign of Authari about equally from Gregory and SECUNDUS.

Guides:—

In addition to the generally helpful guidance of *Julius Weise*, I may here refer to the 'Codex Diplomaticus Civitatis et Ecclesiae Bergomatis' (two vols. folio, 1784), by Canon *Mario Lupi* of Bergamo. To this collection of charters and other documents, illustrating the history of Bergamo from the eighth to the twelfth century, Canon Lupi has prefixed a *Prodromus*, or preliminary discourse, in which he discusses with great industry and acuteness many questions bearing on the general history of Italy under the Lombards. Lupi was evidently stimulated to his task of historical research by the example of the great Muratori, of whom he shows himself no unworthy follower. As king Authari was, according to Lupi's theory, a native himself of Bergamo, the Canon's work at this period of Lombard history has been emphatically a labour of love.

The collection of documents illustrating the history of this period in the five volumes of *C. Troya's* 'Codice Diplomatico Longobardo' (Naples, 1852–1855) is of great value to the

[1] [The derivation of the name Authari is somewhat uncertain, but it is quite clear that the former part corresponds to O. E. *Ēad*, a widely spread Germanic name-stem which we have in Edward, Edgar: the earlier pre-English form was Aud-. The second part is probably *-hari*, the older form of German *Heer*, 'army', O. E. *here* (from *hari*). In this case Authari is the Lombardic cognate of O. E. *Ead-here*. Cf. M. Schönfeld, Wörterbuch der Altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen, Heidelberg, 1911. Note by W. H. Stevenson.]

student. Waitz, however, has pointed out (in the 'Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,' 1856) that some of Troya's documents cannot be relied on as authentic (especially a whole batch of documents relating to Cremona, which he received from Count Morbio), and that generally there is a want of discriminating criticism in Troya's work. He considers that the series of authentic memorials does not begin till towards the end of the seventh century, the Edictum Rotharis being older than almost all the charters that have come down to us. There is thus an interval of more than a century from the foundation of the Lombard monarchy before we come upon diplomatic material that is of any importance for the explanation of history.

Failure of the Lombard oligarchy.

THE attempt of the Lombard dukes to keep the government of the new state in their own hands, after ten years of trial, had proved a failure. Their external enemies were drawing together into an alliance which might easily bring upon the Lombard kingdom the same ruin that had befallen its Ostrogothic predecessor, and internally the condition of the subject population, which called itself Roman, was probably both miserable and menacing. Though we greatly lack precise details as to the real position of these subject Italians, there are many indications that their lot was harder during the ten years of 'the kingless time' than at any period before or after. We can well understand that the yoke of these thirty-six barbarous chiefs, each one a little despot in his own domain, would be far more galling than that of one supreme lord, who, both for the sake of his revenues and in order to prevent a dangerous rivalry, would be disposed to defend the peasant and the handicraftsman from the too grievous exactions of a domineering neighbour. But there is no need to labour at this demonstration: it is one of the commonplaces of

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584.

medieval history that the power of the king was generally the shield of the commoner against the oppression of the noble.

Whether it was the fear of external war or of internal discontent that caused the return to monarchy, we know not; all our information on the subject is contained in the following words of Paulus[1]:—

Authari, son of Cleph, chosen king, April (?), 584.

'But when the Lombards had been for ten years under the power of their dukes, at length by common consent[2] they appointed to themselves as king, AUTHARI, the son of the above-mentioned sovereign, Cleph. On account of his dignity they called him *Flavius*, a fore-name which all the kings of the Lombards who followed him used auspiciously[3]. In his days, on account of the restoration of the kingdom, the then ruling dukes contributed half of all their possessions to the royal exchequer, that there might be a fund for the maintenance of the king himself, and of those who were attached to him by the liability to perform the various offices of his household[4]. [In this division] the subject populations who had been assigned to their several Lombard guests were also included[5]. In truth this was a marvellous fact in the kingdom of the Lombards; there was no violence, no plots were devised, no one

[1] H. L. iii. 16. [2] 'Communi consilio.'

[3] 'Quem etiam ob dignitatem Flavium appellarunt. Quo praenomine omnes qui postea fuerunt Langobardorum reges feliciter usi sunt.'

[4] 'Hujus in diebus ob restaurationem regni duces qui tunc erant omnem substantiarum suarum medietatem regalibus usibus tribuunt, ut esse possit, unde rex ipse sive qui ei adhaererent ejusque obsequiis per diversa officia dediti alerentur.'

[5] That is, the provincial populations which had been handed over to the several Lombard nobles (as mentioned in ii. 32) now followed the fortune of their lands, and half of them were

oppressed another with unjust exactions, none despoiled his neighbour; there were no thefts, no robberies with violence: every man went about his business as he pleased, in fearless security.'

In this brilliant, but doubtless over-painted picture of the golden days of Flavius Authari, let us try to discover such lines of hard prosaic fact as the labour of archæologists and commentators have been able to decipher.

Bergamo probably the birth-place of the new king.

It was said in the previous chapter that there was some reason to suppose that Cleph was the first Lombard duke of Bergamo[1]. If this were so, probably his son Authari passed his boyhood at that place under the guardianship of his mother, Queen Masane.

Most of the great cities of Lombardy are built in the plain; but Bergamo, at least the older city of Bergamo, stands on a hill, an outlier of the great Alpine range which, even to the far Bernina, towers majestically behind her. Her territory in those far-off days, when she still gave birth to kings, was more extensive than in later centuries, reaching back to the deep trough of the Valtelline, through which the early waters of the Adda are poured, resting on the

assigned to the king: 'Populi tamen adgravati per Langobardos hospites partiuntur.' We shall have to return hereafter to the discussion of this important but difficult sentence.

[1] The reason for this conjecture (we cannot put it higher) is that a ninth-century charter of a Carolingian emperor refers to a church at Bergamo dedicated to St. Andrew, called 'the *fara* of king Authari.' We know that *fara* was the Lombard name for a family or kinship; and it therefore seems probable that Cleph with his *fara* settled at Bergamo, and that his son dedicated this church on land belonging to the family holding.

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 584.

two lakes of Iseo and Como to the east and west, and coming far down into the plain[1], within eight miles of the unfortunate Cremona,—Cremona, which as still loyal to the Empire, had to see her territories retrenched for the benefit of her more submissive neighbours[2].

Authari's title Flavius.

As we have seen, Authari assumed the title Flavius, that title which, endeared to the memories of the subject Roman population by dim remembrance of the glories of the Flavian line, was looked upon as in some sort putting the seal of Roman legitimacy upon barbaric conquest. Odovacar, the captain of Herulian mercenaries, had called himself Flavius, a century before the accession of Authari. Recared, the Visigothic king of Spain, who was just at this time coming over to the orthodox creed, and generally reconciling himself to the old order of things, assumed the same title. There can be little doubt that the poor down-trodden Roman *colonus* heaved a sigh of relief and lifted up his eyes with faint hopes of the coming of a better day, when he heard that the king of these fierce barbarians from the Danube condescended to call himself Flavius[3]. And upon the whole, the promise implied in Authari's new title was fulfilled, and the expectations formed of him by the nobles who raised him to the throne were justified. In the letters of popes and emperors, he and his people are still 'most unspeakable' (*nefandissimi*); but we hear less, in fact we

Improvement in the condition of the Italians under Authari.

[1] To Casal Butano.

[2] This paragraph is a condensation of Canon Lupi's arguments on the extent of the Bergamasque territory, pp. 150–153, and 179–186.

[3] See vol. i. p. 7 as to this title.

hardly hear anything at all, of mere barbaric plunder of the cities and villas of Italy; the senseless invasions of Gaul are not resumed; the dukes are kept well in hand, and apparently the resources of the young kingdom are directed with wisdom and foresight to the necessary work of its defence against the threatening combination of its foreign foes. And thus, though we certainly cannot accept the picture of millennial happiness under Authari's sway drawn for us by Paulus, we can believe that his was, in the main, a rule which made for righteousness, and that life was more endurable in his days than during the barbarous 'kingless time,' or during the feeble reigns of some of his successors.

Personality of the new king.

The figure of this bright and forceful young king, whose reign was too short for his people's desires (for he was only six years upon the throne [1]), impressed the imaginations of the Lombard people, and their Sagas were more busy with his fame than with that of most of the dwellers in the palace at Pavia. Minstrels told how he marched victoriously through the regions which were formed into the two great duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, how he arrived finally at the city of Reggio, at the extreme end of the peninsula which looks across over Scylla and Charybdis at the white walls of Messina, and seeing there certain columns (perhaps of a submerged temple) placed in the very waters of the straits, he rode up towards them, and hurling his spear said, 'Thus far shall come the boundaries of the Lombards.' Wherefore to this day

Saga of his march to Rhegium.

[1] Six years according to Paulus (iii. 35); six years and six months according to Continuator Prosperi Havniensis. Crivellucci argues for the longer period (Studi Storici, iii. 122).

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(says Paulus) that column is called 'the column of Authari[1].'

Authari's wooing.

The story of his wooing belongs to the latest years of his life, but it may be related here, in order to show the popular conception of his character. Authari had asked for and obtained the promise of the hand of Chlodosinda, daughter of Brunichildis, sister of Childebert, king of Austrasia. But when news arrived in Gaul of the conversion of Recared of Spain to the Catholic faith, Brunichildis, who was herself a convert from Arianism and a fervent Catholic, broke off her daughter's engagement to Authari, and betrothed Chlodosinda to Recared. Hereupon Authari turned his thought to a nearer neighbour and determined to woo Theudelinda, the daughter of Garibald[2], duke of the Bavarians[3]. Theudelinda, whose fame as a beautiful and accomplished princess had probably been widely spread abroad[4], had been herself betrothed to the youthful Childebert, but that alliance had also been broken by the influence of Brunichildis, who probably dreaded the ascendency of such a woman over her feeble

Theudelinda, daughter of Garibald, duke of the Bajuvarii.

[1] Paulus, iii. 32. He gives it only on the authority of 'Fama est,' and probably the story is, as I have called it, in the nature of a Saga. But I see nothing impossible in the event; nor do I agree with Weise (p. 125) that the language of Paulus must mean a hostile invasion of the territory of the two Lombard dukes (Spoleto and Benevento). He thinks that the legend arose from a confusion between Rhegium in the Straits of Messina, and Rhegium between Parma and Modena. Is that probable?

[2] This is of course the same name as that of Italy's latest hero.

[3] Paulus (iii. 30) calls him king, but it is pretty certain that his over-lord Childebert allowed him no such title, though at one time Garibald's condition may have verged on independence.

[4] This is only a conjecture, but slightly confirmed by the story of her betrothal to Childebert.

son[1]. The sister of Theudelinda had been already for some ten or fifteen years the wife of a Lombard duke, the stouthearted and successful soldier Euin of Trient[2].

To Bavaria accordingly king Authari sent his ambassadors to ask for the hand of the daughter of Garibald. They returned with a favourable answer, and the young king determined to seize an opportunity for gazing on the features of his future bride before she entered his kingdom as its queen. Choosing out therefore a few of his most trusty followers, he journeyed with slight equipment to the Bavarian court. A grave and reverend 'senior,' upon whom was devolved the apparent headship of the mission, spoke some words of diplomatic courtesy to Garibald, and then Authari himself (of course preserving his incognito) stepped up to the Bavarian and said, 'My master Authari has sent me that I may behold the face of his betrothed, our future mistress, and may make report of her beauty to my lord.' Garibald then ordered his daughter to approach, and Authari gazed long in silence on the slender form and beautiful face of his betrothed. Thereafter he said to the Bavarian duke, 'In good sooth we behold that your daughter is such a person that she is well worthy to be our queen. Command, therefore, I pray, that we may receive a goblet of wine from her hand, as we hope often to do in the years that are to come.' Garibald gave the word and Theudelinda brought the goblet of wine and offered it first to the older man, the apparent chief of the embassy. Then she handed it to Authari, all unwitting

[1] This is Weise's conjecture (p. 114). Our only authority for the betrothal of Childebert to Theudelinda is the somewhat doubtful one of 'Fredegarius' (iv. 34).

[2] Paulus (iii. 10). He places Euin's marriage about 575.

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that he was her future husband, and he in returning the cup secretly intertwined her fingers with his, and bending low, guided them over the profile of his face from the forehead to the chin. When the ambassadors had left the presence-chamber, Theudelinda, with a blush of shame, told her nurse of the strange behaviour of the Lombard. 'Assuredly,' said the aged crone, 'he must be the king thy betrothed suitor, or he would never have dared to do this unto thee. But let us be silent about the matter lest it come to the knowledge of thy father. And in truth he is a comely person, worthy of the kingdom and of thee.' For the young king, in the flower of his age, with his tall stature and waves of yellow hair, had won the hearts of all the beholders.

A banquet followed, and the Lombard messengers, escorted by some of the Bavarian nobles, set forth upon their homeward journey. When they were just crossing the frontiers of Noricum and their horses' feet touched the soil of his Italy, Authari, rising high in his saddle, whirled his battle-axe through the air and fixed it deep in the trunk of a tree, where he left it, shouting as he threw, 'So Authari is wont to strike his blow[1].' Then the Bavarian escort understood that he was indeed the king.

A short time elapsed. Childebert, probably alarmed at the tidings of the alliance between the Bavarians, his doubtful subjects, and the Lombards, his frequent foes, moved his army against Garibald. There is some reason to think that either at this time or soon

[1] 'Erexit se quantum super equum cui praesidebat potuit, et toto adnisu securiculam quam manu gestabat, in arborem quae proximior aderat fixit eamque fixam reliquit adjiciens haec insuper verba "Talem Authari feritam facere solet"' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 30).

after, Garibald was dethroned[1] and his duchy given to a relative, perhaps a son or a nephew, named Tassilo; but however that may be, it is certain that Theudelinda fled from her country (her young brother, Gundwald, being the companion of her exile), and notified to her betrothed her arrival in Italy. Authari received her with great pomp on the shores of the beautiful Lake of Garda, and the marriage was celebrated amid general rejoicings in the neighbouring city of Verona on the 15th of May (589)[2].

Theudelinda flees to Italy.

Marriage, 589.

The union so romantically brought about was apparently a happy one, but its happiness was short-lived, for in September of the following year Authari died. But having thus related all that is to be known as to the personal history of the young king, let us turn back to consider the chief public events of his short but important reign.

The Pope appeals for help against the Lombards.

For some time the occupants of St. Peter's chair had been uttering to all the potentates of the Catholic world plaintive cries for help against the violence of the Lombards. In a letter written by Pope Pelagius II to Aunacharius, bishop of Auxerre, the writer bewails 'the shedding of innocent blood, the violation of the

[1] Quitzmann, author of 'Die älteste Geschichte der Baiern bis zum Jahre 911,' doubts the dethronement of Garibald (p. 166) and makes Tassilo his eldest son (p. 184). It must be admitted that the account given in the text rests to a considerable extent on conjecture.

[2] 'Cui statim ille obviam cum magno apparatu nuptias celebraturus in Campum Sardis, qui super Veronam est, occurrens, eandem cunctis laetantibus in conjugium Idus Maias accepit.' For *Sardis*, which gives us no information whatever, Maffei (Verona Illustrata, ii. 452) proposes to substitute *Gardae*. If this is the true reading it is, he says, the first mention of the name of Garda (formerly Benacus).

BOOK VI. CH. 6 holy altars, the insults offered to the Catholic faith by these idolaters.' 'Not without some great purpose,' Oct. 5, 581. continues the Pope, 'has it been ordained by Divine Providence that your [Frankish] kings should share with the Roman Empire in the confession of the orthodox faith. Assuredly this was brought to pass in order that they might be so to speak neighbours and helpers of this City of Rome, whence that confession took its birth, and of the whole of Italy. Beware then lest through levity of purpose your kings should fail in their high mission. Persuade them as earnestly as you can to keep themselves from all friendship and alliance with our most unspeakable enemies the Lombards, lest when the day of vengeance dawns (which we trust in the Divine mercy it will do speedily), your kings should share in the Lombard's punishment[1].'

Oct. 4, 585 Again, in 585 the same Pope addressed a letter to the deacon[2] Gregory, his representative at the court of Byzantium, urging him to bring under the notice of the Emperor Maurice the cruel hardships of his Italian subjects. 'Such calamities and tribulations are brought upon us by the perfidy of the Lombard, contrary to his own plighted oath[3], that no one can avail to relate them. Tell our most pious lord the Emperor of our dangers and necessities, and consult with him how

[1] This letter is given by Troya (Cod. Dipl. Lang. no. 9) with this date Oct. 5, 581. In the original the date is thus expressed, 'Datum III Nonas Octobres, imperante domino Tiberio Constantino Augusto Anno VII.' Weise says it should be dated 580, but I agree with Troya. As Tiberius was associated with Justin at the very end of 574, his seventh year was practically 581.

[2] Afterwards Pope Gregory I. The letter is to be found in Troya, u. s. no. 16.

[3] This alludes to some compact of which we have no other mention.

they may be most speedily relieved; because so straitened is the Republic[1] that, unless God shall put it into the heart of our most pious sovereign to bestow his wonted compassion upon [illegible] servants, and to relieve our troubles by sending us one Master of the Soldiery and one Duke[2], we shall be brought to the extremity of distress, since at present the region around Rome is still for the most part quite undefended[3]. **BOOK VI. CH. 6.** 585 (?).

'The Exarch writes that he can give us no remedy, since he avers that he has not sufficient force even to defend that part of the country [the neighbourhood of Ravenna]. May God therefore direct him speedily to succour our perils before the army of that most unspeakable nation succeeds (which God forbid) in occupying the districts still held by the Republic[4].'

If the Emperor could not spare any large number of soldiers in response to these plaintive appeals, he could at least place the existing Italian army under more efficient leadership than that of the incapable Longinus, who, during the eighteen years of his government, had performed no memorable action, except abetting the flight of the murderess Rosamund and shipping off Alboin's daughter and her treasures to Constantinople. **Longinus recalled, Smaragdus Exarch,** 585-589.

[1] I. e. of course the Commonwealth, or as we call it, the Empire of Rome.

[2] 'Et super illam diacoposin vel unum Magistrum militum et unum Ducem dignetur concedere.' It is I suppose to Byzantine influence that we must attribute the use of this Greek word διακόπωσιν for 'trouble.'

[3] 'Quia maxime partes Romanae omni praesidio vacuatae videntur.' The following sentence about the Exarch's inability to defend his own territory shows that we must understand 'partes Romanae' of the territory geographically adjacent to Rome.

[4] There is some doubt whether this letter should be dated 584 or 585 (see Troya, p. 60, and Weise, p. 74). Chiefly on account of the occurrence of the word Exarch, I accept the later date.

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Smaragdus was now appointed governor of Italy, with a title which was afterwards to become famous, but of which we now meet with the first undoubted mention, the title of EXARCH. It was probably in the early part of the year 585[1] that the new governor arrived in Italy. His name (a curious one to be borne by a Roman governor) is the Greek word for an emerald. By no means a flawless jewel, and a man with some strange streaks of madness in his composition, Smaragdus was nevertheless an active and energetic soldier, and the fact that he twice held the great post of Exarch of Italy shows the high value which the Imperial Consistory placed on his services.

Career of Droctulf.

The efforts of the new Exarch were powerfully seconded by those of a deserter from the Lombard camp. This was a certain Droctulf, by birth belonging to the Suavic or Alamannic nation, who had grown to manhood among the Lombards, and being a man of comely presence and evidently of some military talent, had received the honour of a dukedom among them. He had apparently been taken prisoner in some battle by the Imperial troops, and nurtured a feeling of resentment against the other Lombard generals, to whose languid support he considered that he owed his captivity[2]. In this captivity at Ravenna, he, like so

[1] We have not the exact date of the supersession of Longinus, but Smaragdus is mentioned in a letter of Pope Pelagius II, written probably in 585 (see Troya, ibid. no. 14). [I must admit that I am not quite satisfied with Troya's proposed alteration of the date of Pelagius II's letter to Gregory II, and am inclined to think that the supersession of Longinus may have taken place before 585.]

[2] This is the only probable explanation, as it seems to me, of the words of Paulus, 'Cum occasionem ulciscendae suae captivitatis repperit' (H. L. iii. 18).

many barbarian chiefs before him, was fascinated by the splendid civilisation—splendid even in its ruins—of the great Roman 'Republic.' The barbarous Suave of the Black Forest, the more barbarous Lombard of Pavia—what were these beside the magnificent officials who sat in Theodoric's palace at Ravenna, issuing the decrees and bestowing on loyal allies the endless golden *solidi* of the great World-Emperor? As he worshipped in the glorious basilica of St. Vitalis, and gazed upon the yet existing mosaic pictures of that martyred praetorian, father of two sons, Gervasius and Protasius, soldiers and martyrs like their sire, he took that warrior-saint for his patron, and in the visions of the night he seemed to see Jesus Christ himself giving to him, as to Constantine, a banner to be reared in the service of Christ and of Rome[1].

This was the man who, as it seems, early in the reign of Authari openly attached himself to the party of the Empire, gathered a band of soldiers together, and seizing the little town of Brixellum (*Brescello*) on the Po, raised there the Christ-given banner of Rome against the unspeakable Lombard. Brescello is only about twelve miles from Parma on the Aemilian way, and Droctulf's object in seizing this position was doubtless to hamper the communications of the Lombards along that great highway between Parma, Placentia and Modena, while he himself by the swift sailing-ships (*dromones*), which sailed up and down the river Po, kept open his own communications with the

[1] This is an attempt, highly conjectural I must allow, to explain the words of Droctulf's epitaph—

'Quo Romana potens valuit post signa juvare
Vexillum primum Christus habere dedit.'

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 585. Adriatic. However, the young Authari led the Lombard host against Droctulf, and, after a long siege[1], took Brixellum, rased its walls to the ground, and forced Droctulf to flee to Ravenna.

Three years' truce between the Empire and the Lombards, 585–588. Hereupon a truce for three years was concluded between the Lombard king and the Exarch; a truce which was probably employed by both parties in completing their preparations for further war. It was perhaps before the full completion of the third year that hostilities of a desultory kind were resumed both on the east and west of the Lombard kingdom. In the extreme north-east, Authari's future brother-in-law, Euin, duke of Trient, invaded the wealthy province of Istria. After much pillaging and burning he concluded peace—doubtless a special, local peace—with the governor of the province for one year and returned bearing great spoil to Authari. In the west, the shouts of battle were heard on the shores of the Lake of Como, where for twenty years there had been a strange survival of Roman rule in a part of Italy otherwise entirely subjugated by the barbarians.

Expedition of the duke of Trient against Istria, 587 (?).

Isola Comacina. At the present day, a traveller sailing or steaming up the western branch of the Lake of Como, perhaps scarcely notices[2] a little island—the only one which the lake can boast—lying on his left hand as he is nearing Bellaggio. The hills of the mainland rise high above him, bearing aloft the shrine of Our Lady of Succour, to which many a boatman has looked for help when the suddenly arising storm has threatened to fill

[1] '*Tandem* eum cum militibus quos juvabat exsuperantes' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 18).

[2] Unless his attention is attracted by the ugly advertisement of a café at Como with which the owner of half the island has disfigured one of his rocks.

his bark. But the little island itself, which is about half a mile long and two to three hundred yards broad, rises to no great elevation, though its cliffs are in one place somewhat steep, and there are slight traces of the walls which once rose above them. Still the Isola Comacina, as Paulus calls it, suggests to us in these modern days little of the idea of a stronghold, nor has it ever been such since the invention of gunpowder. But before that great change in the art of war, the simple fact that it was separated by a deep strait, some quarter of a mile wide, from the mainland rendered it inaccessible to any power which had not naval supremacy on the lake and made its possession an object of desire to contending potentates. Here, as we shall see, came Imperial generals and rebel Lombard dukes bent on defying the arms of the lord of Pavia. In the twelfth century, in those fierce intestine wars which preceded the formation of the Lombard League, the little island threw in her lot with Milan against Como, shared the earlier reverses and the final victory of her mightier ally, but was at last, some forty years later, utterly destroyed by the neighbour whose power she had braved. The sacristan of the small and lonely church of St. John tells one in dejected tones that the little island once counted its 7,000 inhabitants, but that in the time of Frederick Barbarossa 'everything was burnt,' and the island has since remained desolate. Apparently, however, it was not from the terrible Emperor, but from their own burgher neighbours of Como, that the vengeance and the destruction came. Last of all, in our own days, in the war of Italian Liberation in 1848, Charles Albert confined a number of his Austrian prisoners

BOOK VI. CH. 6. on the island. At night they slept in the church; in the day they were allowed to scramble about the rocks and thickets of their prison, looking over the narrow strait which divided them from the shore and longing in vain for their Tyrolese or Croatian home[1].

Hither then to this 'home of lost causes' came an Imperial *magister militum*, Francio by name, when Alboin entered Italy, and here for twenty years he had kept the flag of the Empire flying. But now at length Authari directed the whole forces of his kingdom against Francio, and after six months' siege captured his island-fortress and took possession of the vast stores of treasure deposited there by refugees from almost all the cities of Italy[2]. To Francio himself terms were accorded worthy of so brave a foe, and he was allowed to depart for Ravenna with his wife and all his household possessions[3].

Capture of Isola Comacina, 588.

Classis recovered from the duke of Spoleto, 588 or 589.

It was probably just after the expiration of the three years' truce that the port of Classis, which had been for at least nine years in the occupation of the Lombards, was recaptured for the Empire. The hero of this reconquest was Droctulf, who was no doubt well supported by the Exarch Smaragdus. He prepared a swarm of vessels of small draft, with which he covered the shallow streams and lagunes between Ravenna and Classis[4], and by their aid he overcame

[1] There is a good account of the Isola Comacina in Mr. T. W. M. Lund's 'Como and the Italian Lake-land' (London, 1887).

[2] The actual reading of the MSS. of Paulus (H. L. iii. 27) is 'insula Amacina,' but all editors seem to be agreed that this is an error of the scribe for 'Comacina.'

[3] 'Ipse vero, ut optaverat, dimissus a rege cum sua uxore et supellectili, Ravennam properavit' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 27).

[4] 'Puppibus exiguis decertans amne Badrino,' says Droctulf's

the large Lombard host which Farwald of Spoleto had sent to maintain his important conquest. BOOK VI. CH. 6.

This is all that is told us of the deeds of Droctulf in Italy. He seems, after his first Romanisation, to have lived and died a faithful servant of the Empire, and to have fought her battles in the Danubian lands against the savage Avars. We know not the year of his death, but we learn that he was buried in the church of his patron-saint Vitalis at Ravenna, where for many generations might be seen his epitaph in thirteen elegiac couplets, which may be thus somewhat freely translated:—

Droctulf's epitaph.

'Droctulf here lies; his body, not his soul[1];
Droctulf, whose fame doth round the wide world roll.

Though leagued with Bardi, Suavia gave him birth,
And suave his mood to all men upon earth[2].

Kind was his heart, though terrible his frown,
And his long beard o'er his broad breast flowed down.

On Rome's great commonwealth his love he placed,
And for that love's sake laid his brethren waste.

He scorned his fathers, prayed with us to stand,
And chose Ravenna for his father-land.

---

epitaph. Badrinus is by some scholars identified with the Padoreno, one of the mouths of the Po. But it is not easy to see what either Imperialists or Lombards were doing at the mouth of the Po, more than thirty miles north of Ravenna, when the prize of war was Classis, only four miles distant from that city.

[1] 'Clauditur hoc tumulo, tantum sed corpore Drocton'
(Paulus, H. L. iii. 19).
The form Drocton is probably chosen as sounding less barbarous than Droctulf.

[2] 'Cum Bardis fuit ipse quidem, sed gente Suavus,
Omnibus et populis inde suavis erat.'
The pun, such as it is, survives translation. Observe that the Lombards are called *Bardi* throughout the poem.

BOOK VI. CH. 6.

Brixellum captured was his earliest feat;
There, feared by all his foes, he fixed his seat.

Christ gave the banner which he stoutly bore,
After Rome's standards thenceforth evermore.

When Farwald Classis won by foul deceit,
He for the Fleet-town's conquest armed his fleet[1].

Up Badrin's stream his shallops fought their way,
And made the countless Bardic hosts their prey.

Taming, in Eastern lands, the Avar hordes,
He won the glorious laurel for his lords.

The soldier-saint, Vitalis, gave him might,
Triumph on triumph thus to earn in fight;

And in Vitalis' holy home to lie
He prayed, when 'twas the warrior's turn to die.

This of Johannes[2] was his last request,
Whose loving hands here fold him to his rest.'

Frankish politics.

The rest of the political events in the life of Authari were chiefly connected with Frankish invasions, threatened, accomplished, or averted; and to understand their somewhat obscure and tortuous course, we must once more cross the Alps and visit the hill-girt city of Metz, whence the young king Childebert, son of Sigibert and Brunichildis, rules his kingdom of Austrasia. In the courtly language of contemporary ecclesiastics he is 'gloriosissimus dominus Childeberthus rex'; but to us he is a somewhat pale and uninteresting figure, always acting under the impulse of some stronger will, ruled either by his mother or by one of the great nobles and prelates, who, as already said, claimed the

Childebert, king of Austrasia.

[1] 'Inde etiam, retinet dum Classem fraude Faroaldus,
Vindicet ut Classem, classibus arma parat.'

[2] Johannes III, bishop of Ravenna from 578 to 595.

right to advise—a right not easily distinguishable from the right to rule—their youthful monarch. BOOK VI. CH. 6.

Childebert was generally on good terms with his uncle, the easy-tempered Guntram of Burgundy, and he was in fact, three years after the accession of Authari, formally recognised as his heir by the treaty of Andelot: but occasional misunderstandings arose between them, nor was it easy to direct their combined resources to one common end. Treaty of Andelot, Nov. 28, 587.

The old fierce feud between Brunichildis and Fredegundis, though not healed, was during these years slumbering. Ever and anon the wicked queen of Neustria despatched one of her emissaries on the forlorn hope of murdering Guntram or Childebert: but the plot was always discovered; the would-be murderer confessed under torture the name of his inciter; he was put to death: Fredegundis bestowed some of her vast wealth on his surviving relatives, and all went on as before. Generally speaking, it may be said that the period from 584 to 600 was the time of the greatest obscuration of the Neustrian kingdom. Its king, Chlotochar II, was, at the beginning of this period, a mere infant, and Neustria was shorn of a considerable part of its former territory for the benefit of Austrasia and Burgundy. Strife between Austrasia and Neustria.

The 'most glorious lord Childebert,' having once crossed the Alps at the head of an army, and won but little renown there, was not disposed to repeat the experiment. The court of Constantinople, however, unceasingly demanded either the return of its 50,000 *solidi* or the accomplishment of the expedition of which they were the wages. And, in addition to this pecuniary claim, there was a personal motive towards Austrasia and the Empire.

BOOK VI. CH. 6. friendliness with Constantinople, operating at this time with peculiar force both on Brunichildis and on Childebert. To understand its bearings we must go back three or four years, and must glance at the history of Spain and the tragedy of the rebellion of Hermenigild.

Spanish affairs.

We have seen that two kings of the Franks married two daughters of Athanagild, king of the Visigoths. That monarch died shortly after he had despatched

567.

the hapless Galswintha on that nuptial journey which proved to be the road to death, and he was succeeded, after a short interval[1], by the last and well-nigh the greatest of the Arian kings of the Visigoths, Leovigild. Lion-like by name and by nature, this champion of a falling cause stoutly defended the land and the faith of his Arian forefathers. Against the generals of the Empire who had gained a footing in Murcia and Andalusia, and against the hereditary Suevic enemy in Gallicia and Lusitania, he dealt his swashing blows. He fought the Basques (that irreconcilable remnant of the dim aboriginal race which once peopled the Peninsula), and sent them flying across the Pyrenees. He repressed the anarchic movements of his own turbulent nobility, and made them feel that they had now indeed a king.

Leovigild, king of the Visigoths, 572–586.

True, however, to the policy of his predecessor Athanagild (whose widow Goisvintha he had married after the death of his own first wife), Leovigild desired to conciliate as much as possible his mighty Frankish neighbours on the north. Accordingly, he asked and obtained for his son Hermenigild the hand of the

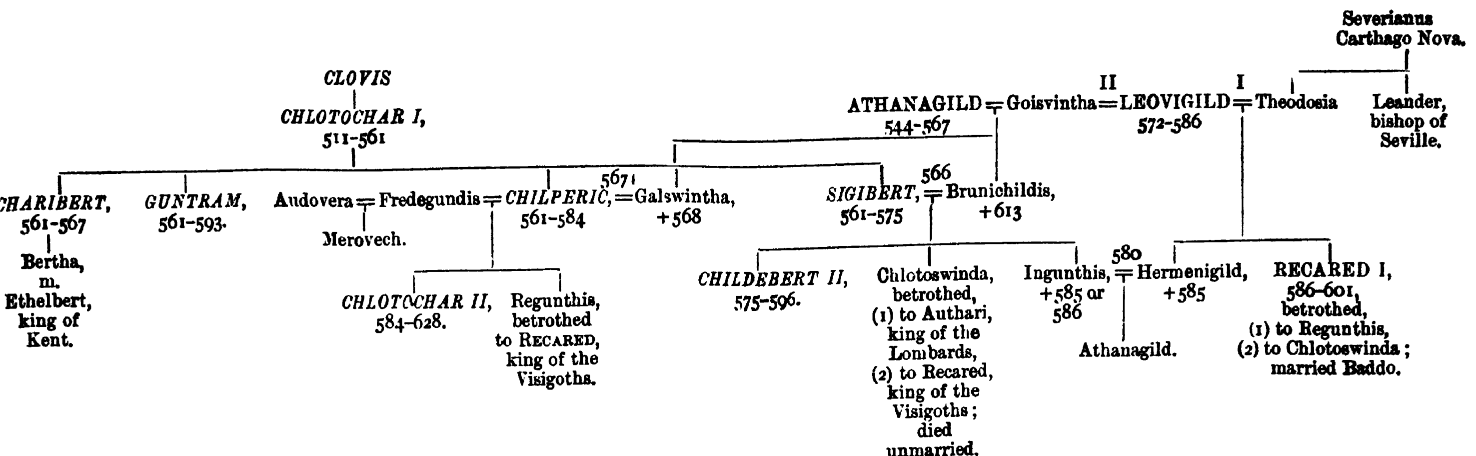
Marriage of Hermenigild and Ingunthis.

[1] Filled by the reign of Liuva, who associated his brother Leovigild in the kingdom, and died shortly after.

TABLE OF MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES BETWEEN THE VISIGOTHS AND THE FRANKS,

566 TO 585.

(Visigothic kings in upright capitals, LEOVIGILD; Frankish kings in sloping capitals, *SIGIBERT*.)



BOOK VI. Ch. 6. 580.

young Austrasian princess Ingunthis, sister of Childebert. The little princess—she was scarcely more than a child—thus recrossed the Pyrenees which her mother had crossed on a similar errand fourteen years before. She was attended by a brilliant retinue; but she came bringing dissension into the palace of the Visigoths, and to herself exile and untimely death.

Domestic storms.

The cause of dissension was—need it be said?—the difference of creed between the two royal families to which the bride and bridegroom belonged. In the previous generation both Brunichildis and Galswintha had easily conformed to the Catholic faith of their affianced husbands. Probably the counsellors of Leovigild expected that a mere child like Ingunthis would, without difficulty, make the converse change from Catholicism back into Arianism. This was ever the capital fault of the Arian statesmen that, with all their religious bitterness, they could not comprehend that the profession of faith, which was hardly more than a fashion to most of themselves, was a matter of life and death to their Catholic rivals. Here, for instance, was their own princess Brunichildis, reared in Arianism, converted to the orthodox creed, clinging to it tenaciously through all the perils and adversities of her own stormy career, and able to imbue the child-bride, her daughter, with such an unyielding devotion to the faith of Nicaea that not one of all the formidable personages whom she met in her new husband's home could avail to move her by one hair's breadth towards 'the Arian pravity.'

Bitter Arianism of Queen Goisvintha.

Chief of all these baffled proselytisers was Queen Goisvintha, own grandmother to the bride and stepmother to the bridegroom. This ancient dame was

a bitter Arian, who had inflicted some humiliations on the ecclesiastics of the opposite party, and whose one blinded eye, covered with the white film of cataract, was hailed by the Catholics as a Divine judgment on her wickedness[1]. It was at first with soft and fair speeches that the aged grandmother—who had received Ingunthis with real gladness—sought to persuade her to quit the Catholic fold and to be baptized as an Arian. But the child-wife answered with manly spirit[2], 'It is sufficient for me to have been washed from the stain of original sin by baptism, and to have confessed the Trinity in one equality. This doctrine I avow that I believe with my whole heart, nor will I ever go back from this faith.' By this stubborn refusal the wrath of Goisvintha was aroused. She seized the child—so says the Catholic Gregory—by the hair of her head and dashed her to the ground; she trampled her under foot and beat her till the blood spirted forth; she ordered her to be stripped and thrown into a pond: but all these outrages failed to shake the constancy of the heroic princess.

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Hermenigild settles at Seville and is associated in the kingdom.

Of these proceedings, on the part of his wife, Leovigild seems to have been a passive, probably an unwilling, spectator, and it was perhaps in order to deliver his daughter-in-law from such persecution, that he assigned the city of Seville, far from his own new capital Toledo, as the residence of the youthful

[1] 'Goisventa . . . quae Dei servis notam humilitatis inflixerat, prosequente ultione divina: ipsa quoque est omnibus populis facta notabilis. Nam unum oculum nubis alba contegens, lumen, quod mens non habebat, pepulit a palpebris' (Greg. Tur. H. F. v. 38).

[2] 'Sed illa viriliter reluctans' (Greg. Tur. l. c.).

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pair; associating Hermenigild with himself in the kingdom.

Hermenigild renounces Arianism.

In their new home by the Guadalquivir Ingunthis began to ply her husband with entreaties that he would 'leave the falsehood of heresy and recognise the verity of the Catholic law.' Although Hermenigild came by the mother's side from a Catholic family, his maternal uncle being the celebrated Leander, bishop of Seville, he long resisted the arguments of his wife, but at length he yielded and received Catholic baptism, perhaps from Leander's own hands; changing his name to John.

After this defection of the young prince from the ancestral creed there was of course 'doubt, misconception, and pain' in the royal palace. The father invited the son to a friendly conference. The son refused, as he said, 'because thou art hostile to me on account of my being a Catholic.' He called upon 'the Greeks,' that is the generals of the Empire, to protect him from his father's anger; but as their succour had not arrived when the royal army was approaching, he accepted the mediation of his brother Recared, entered the hostile camp, and cast himself at the feet of Leovigild. The king raised him by the hand, kissed him and spoke to him kindly; but afterwards, 'forgetful' (says Gregory) 'of his plighted oath, sent him into exile, removing from him all his usual attendants except one young slave.'

It is not easy to trace the exact course of subsequent events, but it is clear that Hermenigild must have escaped from exile, and renewed his rebellion, or, as the annalists (though of the Catholic party) call

583-584.

it, his 'tyranny[1].' The war seems to have lasted for two years. 'The Greeks,' as far as we can see, brought little effectual help to Hermenigild, but the Catholic Suevi put forth all their strength on his behalf. Their king perished in a vain attempt to raise the siege of Seville, and the war ended in the triumph of Leovigild, the captivity of Hermenigild, and the final overthrow of the Suevic kingdom.

Death of Hermenigild, 585.

Once again the king's son was sent into confinement; this time at Valencia. Possibly he escaped thence, for a few months afterwards we hear of his being slain at Tarragona. The Gaulish historian says that his father put him to death; but a somewhat better informed Spanish annalist[2] attributes the murder to a certain man named Sisbert, without hinting at Leovigild's approval of the deed.

Fortunes of Ingunthis and her child.

The unfortunate Ingunthis was thus made a widow in her nineteenth year and left with one orphaned child, a boy, already it would seem three or four years old, whom she had named Athanagild, after her maternal grandfather. She had been apparently separated from her husband during these years of war, for when the rebellion first broke out he had left his wife and child under the care of his 'Greek' allies[3]. Those allies, however, fully recognised the value of such a hostage as Ingunthis, sister of the king of the Franks, and daughter-in-law of the king

[1] The technical word for 'usurpation.' Joannes Biclarensis uses this word, and Isidore and Gregory of Tours imply it.

[2] Joannes Biclarensis, an orthodox ecclesiastic, who suffered banishment on account of his creed. We get from him a clearer idea of the chronological connection of events than from Gregory.

[3] 'Ingundis a viro cum imperatoris exercitu derelicta' (Greg. Tur. l. c.).

BOOK VI. CH. 6.

of the Visigoths, bearing in her bosom one who might one day sit on the throne of Leovigild. In all the subsequent negotiations, reconciliations, wars, between Leovigild and his son, neither of them could ever recover Ingunthis from 'the Greeks[1].' And now, after her husband's death, she was not restored to her home by the Moselle, but sent in a kind of honourable captivity over the wide Mediterranean, her destination being Constantinople: so little consideration or sympathy did the orthodox Greeks exhibit for one who had in her tender youth done and suffered so much on behalf of the Creed of Nicaea. As it turned out, Ingunthis never reached the city of the Bosphorus, but died[2], probably worn out by home-sickness and sorrow, at Carthage, and was buried there[3]. The little Athanagild was sent on to Constantinople, where it is probable that he eventually died, as we never hear of his return to the West of Europe, though that return was the subject of much diplomatic discussion.

[1] 'Ipsam mulierem cum Graecis relictam' (Greg. Tur. H. F. vi. 40); 'uxorem tamen [Hermenigildi] a Graecis eripere non potuit [Leuvichildus]' (ibid. vi. 43).

[2] Her death is usually put in 585, but I do not see any reason why it may not have been a year or two later.

[3] Paulus in the following passage makes the captivity of Ingunthis begin after the death of Hermenigild, and represents her as dying in Sicily; but Gregory's authority must here be preferred to this: 'Ingundis vero post mariti et martyris funus de Hispanis fugiens, dum Gallias repedare vellet, in manus militum incidens, qui in limite adversum Hispanos Gotthos residebant (?) cum parvo filio capta atque in Siciliam ducta est ibique diem clausit extremum' (H. L. iii. 21). Notice that Paulus, writing after the lapse of a century and a half, calls Hermenigild 'Martyr.' That was not the judgment of contemporaries, even though they were of the Catholic party. Gregory says of him (vi. 43) 'nesciens miser judicium sibi imminere divinum *qui contra genitorem quamlibet hereticum talia cogitaret.*'

BOOK VI. CH. 6.

Recared, king of the Visigoths, renounces Arianism, 587.

It was by the captivity of Ingunthis and her child that the tragedy of Hermenigild was connected with the history of Italy, but it is worth while to devote a few sentences to the sequel of that tragedy in Spain. The stout-hearted Leovigild died in the spring of 586, not many months after the murder of his eldest son. His second son, Recared[1], who then ascended the throne, promptly put his brother's murderer to death[2], and by another striking exercise of his royal power proved that the example of that brother, the courage of his young sister-in-law, the exhortations of his uncle Leander, had not been lost upon him. In 587 he assembled a conference of prelates, both Catholic and Arian. They argued with one another and the heretics were unconvinced; but when they appealed to miracles the orthodox won a signal victory. Recared openly avowed himself a believer in the Three Equal Persons of the Godhead, and before many years were passed he had, by gentle compulsion, brought the whole Visigothic nation to share his change of faith. Thus was the last of the great Arian kingdoms, except the Lombard, brought into communion with that form of Christianity which was professed by the Empire, and thus was, if not the 'Eldest Son of the Church[3],' perhaps the most obedient of her children brought into the fold.

In the opinion of some scholars, it is to Recared that we should assign, if not the composition, at any

[1] Always called Richaredus by Gregory; the same name as our 'Richard.'

[2] 'Sisbertus interfector Hermenigildi morte turpissima perimitur' (Joannes Biclarensis, s. a. 587).

[3] The title of the Frankish king.

rate the authoritative publication of that great battle-hymn of orthodoxy the 'Quicunque vult,' which is generally known by the incorrect name of 'The Creed of Saint Athanasius.'

Recared's wooings.

In his father's lifetime Recared had been betrothed to the young Regunthis, daughter of the Neustrian Chilperic and Fredegundis; but on her father's assassination this matrimonial project fell through, though the bride had already arrived on her nuptial journey almost at the borders of the Visigothic kingdom. After his conversion Recared obtained, as we have seen, the promise of the hand of Chlotoswinda, sister of Childebert, thus depriving Authari of the coveted Frankish alliance. In fact, however, this betrothal also came to naught, and the wife whom Recared eventually married was a Visigothic lady named Baddo. Certainly the Merovings and the kings of the Visigoths were not happy in their matrimonial diplomacies.

Failure of Childebert's second invasion of Italy, 587 (?).

We return to the court of Childebert, whither came messengers from the Emperor Maurice with the usual request that the Frankish king would send an army to Italy to fight against the Lombards. Childebert, supposing that his widowed sister was still alive and in the Emperor's power, complied the more readily with the Imperial request, and sent an expedition across the Alps[1]. But the heterogeneous character of the state which obeyed the rule of the Austrasian

[1] Weise (p. 79) dates this expedition in 585; but for various reasons (chiefly the fact that in 585 the three years' truce was concluded between Authari and the Exarch) that date seems to me improbable, and I prefer to assign this invasion to 587, when, as we know, hostile operations had been to a certain extent renewed between the Lombards and the Empire.

king reflected itself disastrously in his army. So great a dissension arose between the Franks and Alamanni serving under his standards, that, without any gain of booty for themselves or conquest of territory for their master, they were obliged to return home [1].

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At length, perhaps early in the year 588, the tidings of the death of Ingunthis reached the court of Metz, but at the same time probably came the news that the little Athanagild was detained at Constantinople. Thereupon all the resources of Austrasian diplomacy were employed to procure his liberation. Four ambassadors were sent to Constantinople: their names and titles were Sennodius the 'Optimate,' Grippo the king's Sword-bearer, Radan the Chamberlain, and Eusebius the Notary. They took with them a whole packet of letters, sixteen of which have been preserved. Though written, of course, not by their reputed authors, but by some clerk—probably an ecclesiastic—in the royal chancery, they are interesting for the light which they throw on the ways of European diplomacy in the sixth century, and especially on the relations existing between the barbarian kings of Western Europe and the Imperial Court [2]. There are letters to the Emperor's father, the veteran Paulus; to his little son Theodosius, a child of about the same age as Athanagild; to the Patriarch of Constantinople; to the Master of the Offices, the Quaestor and the Curator of the Palace, beseeching the good offices of all these illustrious persons on behalf of the ambassadors, sent as they were to establish a firm peace between the Frankish monarchy and the Empire. In these letters

Austrasian embassy to Constantinople to plead for the restoration of Athanagild, 588 (?).

[1] Paulus, H. L. iii. 22.

[2] See Note E at the end of this chapter.

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 588. we hear but little of the true, the personal object of the embassy; but those addressed by Childebert to Maurice, and by Brunichildis to the Empress, are more outspoken, and plead earnestly for the liberation of the little orphan who, by the waves of a cruel destiny, had been drifted so far from his home. Two of the letters are addressed to Athanagild himself. In the letter of Brunichildis to her grandson, notwithstanding the stilted style of its address, there is something really pathetic. Though the prattling child is called 'the glorious lord, king Athanagild,' he is also 'my sweetest grandson whom I long after with inexpressible desire'; and we read that the vanished Ingunthis will not seem altogether lost, if only Brunichildis may gaze upon her offspring.

The whole correspondence, and the way in which this little one's captivity among 'the Greeks' influences the movements of armies, and accomplishes results which thousands of *solidi* had been vain to procure, give us a favourable idea of the strength of the family tie among these otherwise unattractive Merovingian monarchs. Even the apathetic Childebert seems to show some concern for the safety of his nephew; but doubtless Brunichildis was the moving spirit in the whole negotiation. That fierce old Spanish lioness, though her life was spent in fray, had something of the lioness's longing to recover her captured whelp.

Disastrous issue of Childebert's third invasion of Italy, 588 (?).

The embassy to Constantinople was hindered by various causes, which will shortly be mentioned, and did not finally return to Metz till near two years after it had set forth; but meanwhile Childebert, anxious to show his zeal in the Emperor's service, sent an army into Italy, probably in the early summer of

588[1]. Over this invading host Authari and his warriors won a signal victory. They felt that the very existence of the Lombards as an independent nation was at stake, and thus, fighting for their freedom, they triumphed[2]. It is admitted by Gregory that the slaughter of Frankish soldiers was greater than that on any former battlefield whereof the memory was preserved. Many captives were taken, and only a few fugitives returned, with difficulty, to their native land. This victory was the chief event of Authari's reign, and, notwithstanding some subsequent reverses, obtained for him an enduring place in the grateful recollection of his countrymen.

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 588.

Great inundations of 589.

During the year 589 warlike operations seem to have slumbered. The year was memorable to the inhabitants of Italy for other ravages than those of war. Throughout the north of Italy the streams fed by the Alpine snows rushed down in such destructive abundance that men said to one another in terror that Noah's deluge was returning upon the earth. Whole farms were washed away by the raging streams, and in those villas which remained might everywhere be seen the corpses of men and cattle[3]. The stately Roman roads were in many places broken down (and

[1] Paulus (H. L. iii. 29) expresses his surprise that his great authority Secundus, bishop of Trient, should not have mentioned the campaign of 588, so glorious for the inhabitants of Italy. Weise (p. 99) argues from this silence that the expedition cannot have gone by the old road of the Brenner Pass (which would have brought it straight down on Tridentum), but rather by the valley of the Upper Rhine and the Pass of the Splügen. But the mere silence of one historian is a slight ground on which to rest such an argument.

[2] 'Cui Authari rex et Langobardorum acies non segniter obviam pergunt, proque libertatis statu fortiter confligunt' (Paulus, l. c.).

[3] 'Factae sunt lavinae possessionum seu villarum hominumque

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 589. what a Roman Emperor had built a rough Lombard king would find it hard to replace), and some of the smaller paths were quite obliterated. Impetuous Adige rose so high that a large part of the walls of Verona was undermined and fell in ruin, and the beautiful church of San Zenone outside the city was surrounded by water reaching up to the highest tier of windows; but men noted with awe-struck wonder that not a drop penetrated into the building itself[1]. This most terrible storm of a stormy season raged on the 17th of October, the thunder rolling and the lightning flashing in such fashion as was rarely witnessed even in the middle of summer. And only two months later the unhappy city of Verona, which had suffered so severely from the plague of great waters, was well-nigh reduced to ruin by the opposite enemy, fire.

At Rome the Tiber rose so high that it overtopped the walls which lined its banks, and filled all the lower quarters of the City. 'Through the channel of the same river,' says our historian, 'not only a multitude of serpents, but also a dragon of vast size, passed through the City and descended to the sea.'

pariter et animantium magnus interitus' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 23). *Lavinae* is no doubt the same word as the German *lawine*. [*Lawine* is not a German word, but a loan-word from Low Latin *lavina* (used by St. Jerome), *labina* from *labi* originally = anything causing a slip or fall, a landslide, avalanche.]

[1] Paulus (H. L. iii. 23) relates this on the authority of Pope Gregory (Dial. iii. 19), who says that Joannes the tribune told the story to him as he heard it from Count Pronulfus, present at Verona with King Authari, five years before the writing of the Dialogues. In July, 593, Gregory was collecting materials for this work (Ep. iii. 51). We may suppose that at any rate the final touches were not put to it till 594.

589. Marriage of Authari. Smaragdus the Exarch recalled. Romanus succeeds him, 589.

One reason why there were no great warlike operations in the year 589[1] may have been that Pavia was busy with the marriage festivities of Authari and Theudelinda, and that Ravenna was witnessing the departure of Smaragdus and the advent of his successor in the office of Exarch. A bitter ecclesiastical quarrel[2], the result of the miserable controversy about the Three Chapters, was raging in the churches of Istria. The energetic but hot-tempered Smaragdus could not refrain from interfering in this quarrel. Laying violent hands on the patriarch of Aquileia he dragged him and three other bishops to Ravenna, and forced them by threats and violence to communicate with the bishop of that city. It was, in the general opinion, a fitting punishment for this high-handed treatment of the Lord's anointed, that Smaragdus was shortly afterwards 'attacked by a demon' (in other words, became insane), and had to be recalled to Constantinople. His successor, Romanus, held the office of Exarch for about eight years (589–597)[3].

[1] If indeed the re-capture of Classis did not take place in that year.

[2] Some account of this quarrel, so important in its bearing on the political history of the provinces of the northern Adriatic, will be given in Chapter XI.

[3] Among the events of 589 I ought perhaps to enumerate an embassy from Childebert to the Emperor (consisting of Bishop Jocundus and Cothro the Chamberlain) which called forth an indignant letter from Maurice, accusing Childebert of wasting time and wearying his ambassadors by long journeys over land and sea, ending in childish harangues ('juvenili sermone') about peace and unity, while all the time the Frankish king was doing nothing worthy of his professions or consistent with the solemn oaths ('terribilibus juramentis') which he had sworn. (See the letter No. 43 in Troya, iv. 1.) But though Sept. 1, 589, is the date assigned by common consent to this letter, I do not see anything in its contents which binds us to this year, and I cannot

BOOK VI. CH. 6.

590. Return of the Austrasian ambassadors from Constantinople.

In the year 590 Grippo, the ambassador who had been sent to Constantinople to plead for the liberation of the young Athanagild, returned to Metz, having a strange and terrible story to tell of his mission. It seems, on the whole, most probable that the little prince was already dead when the embassy of 588 arrived at Constantinople, that Grippo had returned to his master with these tidings, and had then, in the year 589, been sent forth on another embassy to the same court, his companions this time being two Gallo-Roman[1] noblemen, Bodigisil, son of Mummolinus of Soissons, and Evantius, son of Dynamius of Arles. For some reason quite unknown to us, but probably connected with the closing scenes in the life of Ingunthis, these ambassadors went first to the great city, the metropolis of Roman Africa, which was called Magna Carthago[2], to distinguish her from her lesser namesake in Spain.

A second embassy sent.

The Austrasian ambassadors at Carthage.

While the ambassadors were tarrying here, waiting the commands of the Prefect as to the order of their

help thinking that it must belong to some earlier period of the negotiations. After the terrible Frankish defeat of 588 it seems hardly likely that the Emperor, however he might lament the ill-fortune of his ally, would accuse him of lukewarmness in the cause: and the lawless proceedings of the Imperial officers at Carthage in the early part of 589 (about to be described in the text) put the Emperor so clearly in the wrong that it is difficult to imagine him, so soon after them, taking this upbraiding tone towards the injured party.

[1] Notwithstanding the Teutonic sound of Bodigisil's name, this seems to be proved by Gregory's emphatic way of contrasting Grippo's nationality with that of his colleagues: 'et hic Grippo, genere Francus' (H. F. x. 2).

[2] May we infer in the origin of this name a remembrance of the lines of Horace (Odes, iii. 5. 39–40):—

'O *magna Carthago*, probrosis
Altior Italiae ruinis'?

journey to the Imperial Presence, a tragedy was enacted, which affords us one of our few glimpses of the condition of the great African city in the century and a half that elapsed between her liberation from the yoke of the Vandals and her conquest by the sword-preachers of Islam. One of the body-servants of Evantius saw in the market-place some piece of merchandise which caught his fancy, and following 'the simple plan,' laid hold of it and took it with him to the inn where the ambassadors were lodging. The shopkeeper, thus defrauded of his goods, demanded daily, with ever more clamorous entreaties, the return of his property, and at length, one day, meeting the servant in the street, laid hold of his raiment and said, 'I will not let you go till you have returned that which you stole from me.' At this the Frank drew his sword and slew the importunate creditor. He then returned to the inn, but gave no hint to any of his companions of what he had done. The chief magistrate of the city[1], when he heard of the murder, collected his soldiers and some of the common people, whom he hastily armed, and went at their head to the inn where the ambassadors were then enjoying their *siesta* after the midday meal. Hearing an uproar the Franks looked out and were at once called upon by the city magistrate to come forth and assist in the investigation into an act of homicide which had just been committed. Perplexed and alarmed, they asked for some security for their lives before laying down their arms. Meanwhile the angry and excited mob began to rush into the house. First Bodigisil, and then Evantius stepped out and were slain at the

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589.

533-697.

Lawless deeds.

[1] 'Senior urbis' apparently = 'Prefectus urbis.'

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inn-door. Then Grippo, fully armed and at the head of his retainers, sallied forth and said, 'What the crime may be, about which you say that you are come to enquire, I know not; but here are my two colleagues, who were sent on an embassy to the Emperor, slain by the swords of your citizens. We came for peace and for the common benefit of your state and ours; but now there will never be peace between our kings and your Emperor. I call God to witness of your crime, and He will judge between us and you.' At this the Carthaginian levy was dismissed, and the Prefect of the city, coming to Grippo's lodging, endeavoured to soothe him and began again to discuss the old question of the formalities which were to be observed in their visit to the Imperial court.

The surviving ambassador at Constantinople.

The Carthaginian outrages on the Frankish embassy had at least the effect of making the surviving ambassador's work easier at Constantinople. The Emperor laid aside his usual haughty isolation of manner, received Grippo as an honoured guest, and promised that ample satisfaction should be made to his master for the wound given to his dignity by the outrages at Carthage. In fact, however, this 'ample satisfaction' consisted in arresting, some months later, twelve men who were said to have been guilty of the murder, and sending them bound to the court of Childebert, who was told that he might put them to death if he thought fit, or else allow them to redeem their lives at the rate of 300 *aurei*[1] apiece. The Frankish king took reasonable objection to this mode of settling the

[1] £180 sterling. Was this curious proposal meant as a compliance with Teutonic ideas about *weregild*?

dispute. 'There was no proof that these twelve men had anything to do with the murder. They might be slaves of some Greek courtier, who allowed them to be cheaply sacrificed in this manner, while the king's ambassadors, who had been slain at Carthage, were men of noble birth.' Grippo too, who was standing by, said, 'The Prefect of that city collected two or three thousand men, came against us, and killed my colleagues. Ay, and he would have killed me too, if I had not known how to defend myself like a man. If I go to the place myself, I can pick out the men who did the deed, on whom your master will have to take vengeance, if he desires peace as much as he professes to desire it.' King Childebert gave the word: the captives were allowed to depart, and, with provoking reticence, the historian never tells us how the affair ended[1].

This last incident, however, of the sham satisfaction for the outrage belongs to the later stages of the business. On the return of Grippo, in the early months of 590, with his first friendly message from the Emperor, and his promise of ample justice on the authors of the outrage, Childebert—so mighty were still a few courteous words from the great Roman Emperor to a barbarian king—at once prepared an army, the fourth that he had put in the field for the invasion of Italy.

Childebert's fourth invasion of Italy, May, 590.

Twenty dukes were the officers of this new army, acting under three leaders, whom we should call generals of division, and whose names were Audovald,

[1] The curious story of the murder of the ambassadors is told us by Gregory (x. 2. 4) very near the close of his history. Had he lived longer he would perhaps have given us its sequel.

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590.

Dukes Audovald, Olo, and Chedin.

Olo and Chedin. All three divisions of the army, according to the usual Frankish custom, robbed and murdered to their hearts' content, long ere they passed the frontiers of their own land, beginning this work of devastation in the immediate neighbourhood of Metz.

When they had crossed the Alps, Audovald with seven [1] dukes encamped over against Milan. Olo with no ducal subordinate marched against Bellinzona [2]. Chedin, with thirteen dukes, descending the valley of the Adige, threatened Verona.

Death of Olo.

Olo, approaching incautiously too near to the walls of Bellinzona, was pierced in the breast by a javelin and died of the wound. His soldiers probably joined the main body under Audovald, who was pressing the siege of Milan. The Franks, ravaging the country in all directions, found themselves continually liable to be cut off by detachments of the Lombard army, issuing forth from the fortresses, in which they had taken refuge. At length, however, the two hosts were drawn up in battle array on the western side of Lake Lugano, where the small but deep stream of the Tresa issues from the lake, carrying its waters to the broader expanse of Maggiore. On the banks of this stream stood a Lombard warrior, armed with helmet and breastplate, and brandishing a spear, who

Audovald defeats the Lombards at Lake Lugano.

[1] Gregory (H. F. x. 3) says six; but this is apparently because he has already named Winthrio, duke of Champagne, as second in command to Audovald. It is worthy of notice that Winthrio is expressly mentioned, as allowing the ravage of the country round Metz, though himself duke of the neighbouring territory of Champagne.

[2] Bilitio, described as a 'castrum' (fortified dependency) of Milan, in the Campi Canini.

shouted, 'This day will it appear to which side God will grant the victory.' A few of the Franks crossed the stream, set upon the Lombard champion and overthrew him, whereupon his countrymen, who had apparently staked all their hopes on the rude ordeal of this unequal combat, took to flight. The Franks then crossed the stream, but the operation occupied some time, and when they entered the Lombard camp they found nothing there but the ovens and the marks of the tent-poles[1].

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 590.

The Exarch's army approaches,

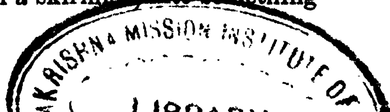
One cause of the discouragement and flight of the Lombard army was doubtless the near approach of the Exarch's forces, which seemed to be on the point of effecting a junction with the Franks. Messengers arrived from the Imperial camp to announce this approach to Audovald, and to say that they hoped in three days' time to reach the camp of their allies. The signal of their arrival on the scene was to be the wreaths of smoke arising from a certain villa on the hill to which the envoys pointed and which they promised to set on fire. For six days the Franks waited, but no smoke was seen to arise from the doomed villa. Apparently the failure to effect this junction was the death-blow to the hopes of the western division, and they returned home at the end of the sixth day.

but fails to co-operate with the Franks.

Chedin's operations in the valley of the Adige.

In the north-east, Chedin, with his thirteen dukes, took five border-fortresses in the Tridentine duchy, from the inhabitants of which he received oaths of

[1] Gregory, who evidently derived his account of this campaign from some soldier of the western army, has probably magnified an unimportant skirmish (hardly even a skirmish) into something like a battle. (See H. F. x. 3.)



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fidelity to King Childebert, permanently annexing, or rather restoring, the surrounding territory to the Austrasian kingdom. He also took ten towns or villages in the valley of the Adige, two in the Valsugana, and one in the immediate neighbourhood of Verona. Verona itself saw the Frankish host encamped beneath its walls, but apparently resisted the siege with success, if any regular siege there were[1].

The fortress of Verruca, erected, or at any rate greatly strengthened, by Theodoric the Ostrogoth[2], was saved by the intercession of two bishops, Ingenuinus of Seben and Agnellus of Trient, and the inhabitants were permitted to redeem themselves at rates varying from one to 600 *solidi*[3]. From all the conquered towns a long train of captives was carried back into Gaul, though in many cases their surrender had been obtained by the solemn oath of the generals, that the liberty and property as well as the lives of the citizens should be spared[4]. In fact, to any one who studies the obscure notices which we possess of this campaign, it will be clear that the Franks, burning, murdering and pillaging, were more terrible to the miserable inhabitants of Italy than even the Lombards themselves.

Pestilence breaks out.

But now, as so often before and since, the climate of Italy, especially her climate in the later months of

[1] This campaign will be more minutely described in the chapter on the Four Great Duchies—Trient. See vol. vi. chap. ii.

[2] See Cassiodorus, Variae, iii. 48.

[3] 12*s.* to £360.

[4] This is I think a legitimate expansion of the words of Paulus (H. L. iii. 31), 'et deposuerunt castra plurima per pacem post sacramenta data, quae se eis crediderunt nullum ab eis dolum existimantes.'

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 590.

summer, proved the best friend to her afflicted inhabitants. The terrible deluges of 589 were succeeded by pestilence in the following year, pestilence which carried off the venerable Pope Pelagius II, and which, in the form of dysentery, so terribly wasted the invading army that Chedin, as well as Audovald, found himself obliged to abandon the campaign.

Return of the Franks, August, 590.

After three months of destructive wandering over the plains of northern Italy, the whole Frankish army returned into its own country, having practically accomplished nothing. It had not been able to force the Lombards to fight, for they had remained behind the walls of their fortresses. It had not, as it once hoped to do, captured Authari himself, for he had tarried in his strongly fortified capital of Pavia. It had not succeeded in collecting great spoil, for the soldiers had to sell their clothes and even their arms for bread, before they reached their native land. Plague-stricken, ragged and desperate, the great army of the Twenty Dukes disappeared from the soil of Italy.

Byzantine complaints of the conduct of the Franks.

The Byzantine version of this campaign of 590—agreeing as to the main result, but differing as to the cause of the failure—was given by the Exarch of Italy, who wrote to Childebert two letters[1] (still extant) bitterly complaining of the incapacity of the Franks in war, and of their cruel conduct towards the Roman provincials. The following are the most important sentences in these letters:—

[1] Nos. 45 and 46 in Troya (iv. 1). The Exarch's title is not given in the superscription of either letter, but we can hardly err in attributing both of them to him. The dates conjecturally assigned by Troya are June and September, 590. The former seems to me too early.

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 590.

'We heard from your messenger, the Vir Magnificus, Andreas, how earnestly your Glory desired to stop the effusion of Christian blood and to liberate Italy from the unspeakable Lombards. We heard and reported to the most clement Emperor and to his Augusta (your most serene sister) that for this purpose you had ordered the most flourishing army of the Franks to descend into Italy.

'Even before their arrival God gave us, in answer to your prayers, the cities of Modena, Altino and Mantua, which we won in fight and beat down their walls, hastening as we did to prevent the unspeakable ones from attacking the Franks before our arrival[1].

'Then we heard that the Vir Magnificus (your general) Chedin[2] was encamped with 20,000 men near the city of Verona, and had sent an ambassador to Authari[3] with some talk about terms of peace. That king had shut himself up in Ticinum; the other dukes and all their armies had sought the shelter of divers fortresses; we saw ourselves on the point of joining the Roman army to the 20,000 of Chedin, supporting them by our cutters[4] on the river, besieging Ticinum, and taking captive king Authari,

[1] 'Ante vero quam fines Italiae vestri Duces ingrederentur, Deus pro sua pietate vestrisque orationibus et Mutinensem civitatem, nos pugnando ingredi fecit, pariter et Altinonam et Mantuanam civitatem pugnando et rumpendo muros ut Francorum videret exercitus sumus ingressi.' We learn from this passage (what we should not otherwise have known) that Mantua and Altino had been taken by the Lombards, probably before Authari's accession. Mantua was recaptured by them in 603: Altino not till 640.

[2] Chenus.

[3] The Exarch calls him 'nefandissimus Autharit.'

[4] Dromones.

whose capture would have been the greatest prize of victory[1]. While we were urging Chedin to this course and anxiously consulting your dukes as to each step to be taken against God's enemies and ours, what was our amazement to find that they[2], without any consultation with us, had made a ten months' truce with the Lombards, abandoned the opportunities for booty, and marched suddenly out of the country. If they had only had a little patience, to-day Italy would be found free from the hateful race, and all the wealth of the unspeakable Authari would have been brought into your treasury; for the campaign had reached such a point that the Lombards did not consider themselves safe from the Franks even behind the walls of their cities.

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590.

'For ourselves (besides the previously mentioned successes) Parma, Rhegium[3] and Placentia were promptly surrendered by their dukes to the Holy Roman Republic, when we marched to besiege these cities. We received their sons as hostages, returned to Ravenna, and marched into the province of Istria against our enemy Grasulf. His son, the magnificent Duke, Gisulf, wishing to show himself a better man than his father, came with his nobles and his entire army, and submitted himself to the Holy Republic. The glorious patrician, Nordulf, having come by the favour of our Lords[4] into Italy, gathered his men together

[1] The Exarch says at this point that Chedin sent three dukes, Leudfrid, Olfigand, and Rauding, to Ravenna, that he received them with the honour due to their master's glory and gave them generous presents.

[2] Probably both Chedin and Audovald.

[3] Reggio in North Italy.

[4] The Emperor and Empress (?).

BOOK VI. Ch. 6. again and in concert with the glorious Osso and his Roman army recovered several cities.

590. 'Now, as we know that your anger is kindled by the return of your generals, leaving their mission unaccomplished, we pray you to send speedily other generals, more worthy of your trust, who may fulfil the promises made by you and your pious ancestors. Let them come at such a time that they may find all the enemy's harvests in the field. Tell them to inform us by what routes and at what dates we may expect them. And, above all things, we hope that when, with good luck, the Frankish army descends from the Alps, the Romans, on whose behalf we ask your aid, may not be subjected to pillage and captivity; that you will liberate those who have been already carried off into bondage; and that you will direct your generals not to burn our workshops, so that it may be clearly seen that it is a Christian nation which has come to the defence of Italy[1].'

There is much which, owing to our imperfect knowledge of persons and events, is obscure in these letters of the Exarch, but we can see in them quite enough of bitterness and misunderstanding to account for the failure of the coalition to accomplish its full purpose and drive the Lombards out of Italy. At the same time it is clear that the Lombards were in great danger, and that Authari had a narrow escape of

[1] 'Sperantes prae omnibus, ut dum feliciter Francorum exercitus descenderit, Romani, pro quibus auxilia vestra poscimus, in depraedationem et captivitatem non perducantur; sed et eos, quos transacto tempore abstulerunt, relaxari et provinciae restitui jubeatis. . . . Sed nec fabricas incendi praecipite, ut agnoscatur, quia pro defensione Italiae auxilium Christianae gentis habuimus' (Letter 46 in Troya, pp. 133–134).

being carried in chains to the Austrasian capital and visiting the court of Childebert, not as brother-in-law, but as captive. A considerable tract of country on the southern bank of the Po[1] was recovered for the Empire; but this was won more through the disloyalty of the Lombard dukes—perhaps weary of the strict rule of Authari—than by any bravery of the Byzantine soldiers. Still, a hundred miles of the great Aemilian way had been cleared from the presence of the invader; the frontier of the Empire had been pushed up to within twenty miles of the Lombard capital, and the delusive hope of once more extending the dominions of 'the Republic,' from the Adriatic to the Gulf of Genoa, floated before the eyes of the Imperial governor.

590.

Embassy from Authari to the Frankish Kings.

Before the summer of 590 was ended, Authari sent an embassy first to the king of Burgundy and then to the king of Austrasia, praying, in somewhat humble fashion, for peace and alliance with the nation of the Franks[2]. The ambassadors were courteously received by Guntram and terms of peace between the Lombards and the Franks of Burgundy were agreed upon. They were still at the court of Childebert when they heard the unexpected tidings of their master's death.

Death of Authari, 5 Sept. 590.

King Authari died at Pavia on the 5th of September, 590[3], being still in the prime of youthful manhood and having reigned less than seven years.

[1] From Placentia to the river Panaro.

[2] Naturally Gregory lays more emphasis than Paulus on the terms of subjection used by Aptacharius (as Authari is called by the Frankish historian) in the negotiations for peace.

[3] This, as Weise remarks (p. 33), is the one really certain date in early Lombard chronology.

BOOK VI. CH. 6. 590. His death was by some attributed to poison[1]; but, as pestilence was ravaging Italy in that year, and he had been living for months in the unwholesome atmosphere of a blockaded city, it seems more reasonable to attribute the event to natural causes, especially as no author and no motive is suggested for the crime.

Though the last few months of Authari's reign were clouded by adversity, it is evident that he guided the fortunes of the Lombard state with vigour and success. Some of the constitutional changes connected with his assumption of royal power, and especially with that arrangement whereby the Lombard dukes surrendered half of their territory in order to endow the new kingdom with a royal domain, are reserved for consideration in a later chapter.

[1] 'Veneno, ut tradunt, accepto' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 35).

NOTE E. ON THE CORRESPONDENCE OF 588 BETWEEN THE AUSTRASIAN COURT AND THE COURT OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THESE letters, as given in Troya's Codice Diplomatico Longobardo, iv. I. 24–40, are:

1. From Childebert to Maurice, stating that 'parens noster, filius Scaptimundi, apud vos in Urbe Regiâ commoratur,' and praying for his return. It is almost certain that Scaptimund must be another name for Hermenigild.

2. From Childebert to 'the most glorious and everywhere exalted lord, his sweetest nephew, King Athanagild.' C. informs A. that he has sent an ambassador (the bearer of this letter) to deliberate with the most serene Princeps of the Roman Republic as to the best course to pursue in Athanagild's interests.

3. From Childebert to Theodosius (a child of three years old), soliciting his intervention on behalf of the exiled orphan.

4. From Childebert to Paulus, father of the Emperor, asking him to help in establishing friendly relations between the two States.

5. From Childebert to Domitian, cousin of the Emperor and bishop of Melitene, recommending the Frankish ambassadors to his good offices.

6. From Queen Brunichildis to the Emperor, containing courtly compliments and commendation of the ambassadors. (Both this and the two preceding letters speak of the Empire and the Franks as 'foederati' *to one another*: not quite like the old use of the word when the Goths were 'foederati' to the Empire.)

7. From Queen Brunichildis to 'the glorious lord, to be named with unspeakable desire, her sweetest grandson, King Athanagild.' Brunichildis congratulates herself that these letters will meet the lovely eyes of one who recalls to her that sweetest daughter whom, for her sins, she has lost, and yet not lost entirely so long as her offspring survives.

8. From Queen Brunichildis to the Empress [Anastasia]. B. hopes that the design which her son has had in view, in

NOTE E. sending this embassy to Constantinople, will, by Christ's help, redound to the benefit of all truly Catholic nations. Her little grandson has had to travel far in his babyhood, and has learned the hardships of captivity in his tender and innocent years. By the love which the Empress bears to her own son, Theodosius, and by the grief which she would feel in being sundered from him, she is entreated to gladden the heart of Brunichildis by restoring her grandchild to her embrace, and so mitigating the sorrow caused by the death of both his parents. (This and the preceding are the two best letters of the series.)

9. (Again) from Brunichildis to Anastasia, commending Childebert's ambassadors to the favour of 'Her Tranquillity.'

10. From Childebert to Honoratus, the Apocrisiarius, or Nuncio of the Pope at Constantinople, asking him to help the ambassadors in establishing a firm peace between the Empire and the Franks.

11 and 12. From Childebert to John, Bishop of Constantinople. The fame of John's sanctity, after filling the East, has reached also to the North, 'even to us Germans.' [It is to be remembered that Procopius, who wrote at Constantinople, always called the Franks 'Germans.'] He is therefore entreated to assist the ambassadors in treating of matters which will be for the common good of both nations 'perpetually federate together,' and to obtain from 'our most pious father, Augustus,' the liberation of Childebert's little nephew, who, 'a stranger as well as an exile, is now detained in your royal city.'

13. From Childebert to the Patrician Venantius.

14. From the same to Italica, Patricia, wife of Venantius.

15. From the same to Theodore, Master [of the Offices].

16. From the same to John, Quaestor.

17. From the same to Megas, Curator (or perhaps to the great Curator) of the Palace.

All these five letters in similar words commend the ambassadors to the care of the receivers, and express the hope that their negotiations may confirm the ancient friendship between the kings of the Franks and 'the most tranquil sovereigns of the Roman Republic,' and may strengthen 'the Catholic charity' for the love of which they are sent forth.

CHAPTER VII.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

Authorities.

Sources:—

For the life of the greatest of the Roman pontiffs our first and best authority is the collection of his letters, GREGORII EPISTOLAE, in twelve books, which will be abundantly referred to in this and many following chapters. Quotations are made from the great Benedictine edition (reprinted in Migne's Patrologia, vol. lxxvii), and from the edition contained in the 'Monumenta Germaniae Historica' (M. G. H.), Berlin, 1887–1891. Of this, however, only nine books are yet published. The interesting but difficult question of the chronological arrangement of the letters is discussed in Note E at the end of this chapter. The *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Bede (672–735) contains in addition to the account of the mission to Britain a beautiful picture of Gregory's general character (Hist. Eccles. ii. c. 1). Another valuable but too brief authority for this part of the subject is the *Vita Gregorii* by PAULUS DIACONUS. This work is thus alluded to by the author in his 'History of the Lombards' (iii. 24): 'But concerning the blessed Gregory we refrain from saying more here, because we have already, many years ago, by God's help composed a treatise on his life. In which, to the best of our feeble powers, we have set forth all that was to be said concerning him.' This book gives us in short compass all the more important facts in the life of Gregory; a catalogue of his chief works—among which for some reason the *Magna Moralia* is not included—and a list of his miracles, some of which are of a poor and childish type. The chapters, however, which contain these miracles (xxiii–xxviii) are, as Bethmann has pointed out (Archiv, x. 305), almost certainly an interpolation. In the genuine Life, Paulus says that Gregory might easily have wrought miracles, but refrained from using his power.

BOOK VI. CH. 7.

The *Vita* by Paulus dates of course from the eighth century, probably between 770 and 780[1]: the next work to be named was written a hundred years later. This is the work *de Vita Gregorii*, by JOHANNES DIACONUS, written at the request of Pope John VIII (872–882), and dedicated to that pontiff. The biographer tells us in his preface that certain bishops were assembled at Rome, and that a complaint arose among them that the great pope who had written (in the Dialogues) the lives of so many other saints, should have had no history of his own life written, except two short sketches by a Lombard and a Saxon[2], but nothing from the bosom of his own Church. It was agreed, therefore, that Johannes should write a fuller life, using the Papal archives as his quarry. He has accordingly written a somewhat voluminous work, divided into four books, the first of which tells us how Gregory attained to the summit of the Church; the second how he lived; the third how he taught; and the fourth how while teaching rightly he daily recognized his own weakness. It is true, however, as Ebers points out (Litteratur des Mittelalters, iii. 201), that none of the four books, except the first, corresponds very strictly to its title, and that throughout it is rather Gregory the Pope than Gregory the man whom it brings before us. Nor can this be wondered at, as by far the largest part of the work consists of the letters extracted from the Papal Archives; and for this reason, as we have the letters in another form, the work of Johannes does not really add much to our knowledge. As a sort of classified Index, however, to the letters it is not without its use.

Guides:—

Paul Ewald's 'Studien zur Ausgabe des Registers Gregors I' (in the Neues Archiv, iii. 433–625); for a description of which see Note E.

G. J. T. Lau's 'Gregor I der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seiner Lehre geschildert' (Leipzig, 1845), and *C. Wolfsgruber's* 'Gregor der Grosse' (Saulgau, 1890), are both useful mono-

[1] Dahn (Paulus Diaconus, p. 56) refers the composition of the 'Vita' to 787; but as it was some years before he wrote the 'History of the Lombards' ('jam ante aliquot annos ejus vitam texuimus'), an earlier date, if possible, seems desirable. The latter work was probably written about 790.

[2] Paulus and Beda.

graphs. Lau, though a Protestant pastor, does not differ much from his Benedictine competitor in his estimate of the great pontiff's virtues. BOOK VI. CH. 7.

'KING AUTHARI dying left no seed. Then all the Lombards,' says Paulus, 'since the queen Theudelinda pleased them well, decided that she should remain queen, and that whosoever of the Lombards should be chosen by her as husband should wear the royal crown. She, therefore, taking counsel with the wise men of the realm, chose Agilulf, duke of Turin, for this double honour. For he was a strong man and a warrior and well fitted by manly beauty, as well as by courage, to grasp the helm of the kingdom[1].'

Re-marriage of Theudelinda. 590.

'Now this Agilulf (who was also called Ago[2]) was with the rest of the Lombard nobles at Verona, when Theudelinda came thither amid the rejoicings of the people to wed her first husband, Authari. And it so happened at that time that the air was greatly disturbed, and that a certain tree in the royal garden was struck by lightning, accompanied with a mighty thunder-crash. Agilulf then, having among his servants a certain youth with a spirit of divination, who, by diabolical arts, could foretell things to come, was secretly told by him, "That woman, who has just been wedded to our king, will after no long time be thy wife." Which, when Agilulf heard, he told the boy that he would cut off his head, if he said anything more of that matter. "I may be killed," quoth the boy, "but it is none the less certain that that woman has come into this land to be thy wife[3]."

Her second husband, Agilulf.

[1] Hist. Lang. iii. 35. [2] Ibid. iv. 1.
[3] Ibid. iii. 30.

PEDIGREE OF THEUDELINDA AND THE LOMBARD KINGS OF HER RACE.

(Names of Lombard kings in capitals.)

AUSTRIGUSA, daughter of the king of the Gepidae. = WACCHO, (of the family of the Lithings), king of the Langobardi (circa 510–540).

|

WALDERADA, married (1) THEUDEBALD, king of Austrasia. (2) CHLOTOCHAR I, king of Neustria. (3) GARIBALD.

GARIBALD, 'king' of the Bavarians. = WALDERADA

Children of Garibald and Walderada:

- (3) A daughter, married EUIN, duke of Trient. (Paulus, H. L. iii. 10.)
- (3) THEUDELINDA, married 589. AUTHARI, 584–590; married 590. AGILULF, 590–615.
- (3) GUNDWALD, duke of Asti, † circa 614.

Children of Theudelinda and Agilulf:

- ADALWALD, 615–625.
- GUNDIPERGA, married (1) ARIWALD, 626–636. (2) ROTHARI, 636–652.

Children of Gundwald:

- ARIPERT I, 653–661.
- GUNDIPERT.

Children of Aripert I:

- PERCTARIT, 661–662 and 672–688.
  - CUNINCPERT, 688–700.
    - LIUTPERT, 700.
- GODEPERT, 661–662.
  - RAGINPERT, 700.
    - ARIPERT II, 700–712.

'And now behold, after the death of Authari, Theudelinda ordered Agilulf to come into her presence, and she herself hastened as far as the town of Laumellum[1] to meet him. And when they had met, after some words spoken, she ordered wine to be brought, and after she had first drunk of it, she ordered the residue to be handed to Agilulf. Then he, receiving the cup from the queen, reverently kissed her hand; but she with a blush and a smile said, "He ought not to kiss my hand who has the right to kiss my lips." So, raising him up to her salute, she opened to him her intentions concerning her re-marriage and the royal dignity.

'The wedding was celebrated amid great rejoicings. Agilulf, who was a kinsman of the late King Authari, assumed the royal dignity in the beginning of the month of November (590), and afterwards in the month of May, when all the Lombards were gathered together into one place, he was solemnly raised to the kingdom at Milan[2].'

So runs the Saga of Theudelinda and Agilulf in the pages of Paulus. Modern criticism, which would rob history of every touch of poetry, suggests doubts as to the accuracy of the story[3]; but there seems no

[1] Lomello, a little north of the Po, about 20 miles west of Pavia.

[2] Hist. Lang. iii. 35.

[3] Waitz, in his edition of Paulus, says, 'Whether all this belongs to the domain of authentic history may be questioned. The short narrative of the Origo seems to hint that Agilulf sought for the crown by violence, and obtained it by marriage with Theudelinda, which also fits with the indications of time given by Paulus. Nor does the Continuer of Prosper seem to imply anything else.' But the 'Origo' only says, 'Et exiit Acquo dux

BOOK VI. Ch. 7. 590. reason why it should not be strictly true. Of course the tale as to the divining boy, coupled with the suspicions as to the unnatural character of Authari's death, might easily suggest that the second marriage of Theudelinda was the climax of some dark domestic tragedy; but no contemporary writer makes this obvious suggestion, while the high and noble character of the great queen herself, and (as far as we can discern) of her second husband also, utterly negatives any such suggestion[1].

Ancestry of Authari. Let us look a little more closely at this newly-wedded pair, who are to play so important a part in the history of Lombard Italy. AGILULF, late duke 590–615. of Turin, now entering on a victorious career which is to last for a quarter of a century, is of Thuringian extraction[2], though a relative of his predecessor, Authari. He is sprung, therefore, from the great nation settled in the centre of Germany, whose king, Hermanfrid, married Theodoric's niece[3], and whose state was, about the middle of the sixth century, swallowed up by the all-devouring Austrasian mon-

Turingus de Taurinis, et junxit se Theudelindae reginae, et factus est rex Langobardorum.' The Codex Gothanus says almost exactly the same. The Continuer of Prosper, 'Agilulfus, qui et Ago, gloriosissimam Theudelindam reginam sibi matrimonio copulavit.' As Weise (pp. 147–8) points out, there is here no real contradiction of the narrative of Paulus.

[1] There is a mysterious sentence in Paulus, just after the story of the divining boy: 'Hoc tempore, quam ob causam incertum est, Ansul cognatus regis Authari apud Veronam interfectus est.' But we shall only make darkness darker by conjectures as to an event the causes of which were uncertain even in the days of Paulus.

[2] We are informed of this fact by the Prologue to the Edict of Rothari: 'Quarto decimo, Agiluth, Thoringus ex genere Anaval.'

[3] See vol. iii. p. 296.

archy. He is a man capable in war and of manly beauty, the ideal leader of a still semi-barbarous people.

Ancestry of Theudelinda.

THEUDELINDA, daughter of the king (or duke) of the Bavarians, is descended on her father's side from the warlike nation of the Marcomanni, who so often saw the legions of Imperial Rome flee before their onset, and who, after long sojourn in the country which we now call Bohemia, entered, about the year 500, that fair and wide land which now bears their name.

But, on the mother's side, Theudelinda was descended from the old Langobardic kings, for Walderada, wife of Garibald, was daughter of Waccho, who so long ruled the nation in its Pannonian home[1]. Undoubtedly this alliance with the old family of the Lithingi, together with the fame of Theudelinda's beauty and accomplishments, was a powerful motive with Authari when he sought her hand in marriage, and the same remembrance made the chiefs of the proud Lombard

[1] See p. 18. Walderada was three times married; her first husband being Theudebald, king of Austrasia, and her second, Chlotochar, king of Neustria, by whom she was divorced. Weise proves very clearly, perhaps at almost unnecessary length (pp. 103–112), that there is no reason for rejecting the current statement that Theudelinda was daughter of the ruler of Bavaria. It is true that, in H. L. i. 21, Paulus says that the king of the Franks (whom he calls Cusupald) gave his divorced wife 'uni ex suis qui dicebatur Garipald,' but in iii. 10 and 30 he calls him distinctly 'Garibaldus rex Baioariorum.' The 'Origo' also calls Theudelinda 'filia Garipald et Walderada de Bajuvaria.' In the face of these testimonies we may reject the statement of the often inaccurate 'Fredegarius' (iv. 34), that Theudelinda was 'ex genere Francorum.' [But Quitzmann (Aelteste Geschichte der Baiern) shows some reason for thinking that Garibald was himself related to the Merovingian kings. This would explain 'uni ex suis' and would justify 'ex genere Francorum.']

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nation willing to leave the decision as to the choice of their king in the hands of one who, though foreign-born, was not a stranger in blood.

Central position of Theudelinda in Lombard history.

And in fact Theudelinda is a central figure in the history of the Lombards. As I have said, she reached back through her mother's ancestry to the old barbarous Langobardic kings. She virtually established a new, a Bavarian dynasty in Italy, her descendants and those of her brother, the exiled Gundwald, occupying the Lombard throne with little intermission to the fifth generation. And lastly, she was the main agent in that great change of creed which at last brought the Lombard nation into line with the other Teutonic monarchies of Western Europe, and made it possible—though even then not easy—to establish a *modus vivendi* between the Lombard kings and the successors of St. Peter.

Theudelinda failed to convert Authari to Catholicism.

Looking to her later history, we can hardly doubt that so fervent a Catholic as Theudelinda sought to use her influence, even with her first husband, to mitigate the bitterness of his Arianism. But the time was too short for her to accomplish anything noteworthy, and so late as the spring of 590 we find Authari putting forth an edict whereby he forbade the sons of the Lombards to be baptized at Easter according to the Catholic rite. For this act of oppression Pope Gregory saw a righteous retribution in the sudden death which prevented Authari himself from witnessing the celebration of another Easter[1]. Over Agilulf, how-

[1] 'Nefandissimum Autharith in hac quae nuper exempta est paschali solemnitate, Langobardorum filios in fide catholica baptizari prohibuit, pro qua culpa eum divina majestas extinxit, ut solemnitatem paschae alterius non videret' (Greg. Epist. i. 17).

ever, the man whom she had herself exalted to the throne, Theudelinda exercised a more potent influence; and though it cannot be positively stated that he ever formally renounced the creed of his forefathers, he cultivated the friendship of the rulers of the Catholic Church, and seems to have witnessed with complacency the baptism of Theudelinda's son by an adherent of the Creed of Nicaea.

In this great change Theudelinda was powerfully aided by the man who was placed in the chair of St. Peter, about the same time when Agilulf saluted his queenly bride at Lomello; a man who more than all other pontiffs who have received that title merited the epithet of the Great.

Pope Gregory the Great, 540 (?)–604. His parentage.

GREGORY was born, about the year 540, of a noble Roman family[1], which had already given one Pope[2] to the Church, and many Senators to the State. His father, Gordianus, a tall, grave-visaged Roman nobleman, who lived in a stately palace on the Coelian Hill, held the post of *Regionarius*, a civil office which seems to have represented the secular side of the duties of the seven deacons, each one of whom administered the vast charities of the Roman Church in one of the seven regions into which, for ecclesiastical purposes, the City was divided[3].

[1] We lack authentic testimony for Gregory's alleged descent from the *gens Anicia*, whence sprang Boethius and so many other illustrious Romans.

[2] A Felix, probably Felix IV, but possibly Felix III.

[3] See Hegel (Städteverfassung von Italien, i. 163). Some writers make *Regionarius* equivalent to deacon, but I think it is clear that the *Regionarius* was a secular officer, head of the *bureau*, as we should call it, which had to respond to the deacon's requisitions. Thus these very deacons, who, according to the original conception of the office (Acts vi. 2), were ordained to

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Three of Gregory's aunts on one and the same day embraced with enthusiasm the conventual life, now made illustrious by the fame of Benedict and Scholastica: and though one of them, Gordiana, fell away from that early fervour of faith, returned into the world, and even married her steward, the other two, Aemiliana and Tharsilla, persevered, and died in early life worn out by their pious austerities.

His education and early career.

Gregory himself received a good education in Latin literature—the Greek language he never mastered—and apparently had sufficient acquaintance with the ordinary course of instruction pursued by the teachers of rhetoric to despise and avoid their frivolous pedantry. We hear, however, very little about his youth or early manhood, until we find him, about the year 573, filling the high office of Prefect of the City[1].

relieve the apostles from the secular duty of 'serving tables,' having now themselves become prominent spiritual personages, had their *Regionarii* (each probably with a large staff of clerks at his disposal) to relieve them from the mere business routine of almsgiving.

[1] The authority for this statement is a passage in one of Gregory's own letters (iv. 2), where, in describing the recantation signed by Laurentius, bishop of Milan, he says, 'Laurentius districtissimam cautionem sedi apostolicae emisit in qua viri nobilissimi et legitimo numero subscripserunt. Inter quos ego quoque, tunc urbanam praeturam [praefecturam] gerens, pariter subscripsi.' The MSS. vary between 'praeturam' and 'praefecturam.' Apparently documentary authority preponderates in favour of the former; but there can be little doubt that 'praefecturam' is the right reading, the office of praetor having fallen into disuse long before this. (See Diehl, Études sur l'Administration Byzantine, 127, n. 4.) The Episcopate of Laurentius (573–592) gives us the year 573 as at any rate the earliest possible date for the close of Gregory's prefecture. How long before that date he may have held the office or how long after it he may have laid his office down we cannot say with certainty.

The dignity of this office, which brought with it the presidency of the Senate, the right to wear a robe of Imperial purple and to be drawn through the streets of Rome in a four-horsed chariot, has been described in an earlier volume of this history[1]. We have also, in following the fortunes of Sidonius and Cassiodorus, had a glimpse of the anxious responsibilities, especially in respect to the food-supplies of the City, which almost outweighed even its dignity. It is probable that when Gregory held the office its duties were lighter and its splendour less than half a century earlier. The Lombards had now been for some years in Italy, and we can perceive that, in presence of this continued danger, there was a tendency in the Imperial government to circumscribe the powers of the merely civil magistrates, and to concentrate all authority in the hands of the military chiefs. But there can be no doubt that the Prefect of the City was still an important personage, and great therefore must have been the marvelling of the populace in the Forum when, one day, the news was spread abroad that the Prefect of the City was about to lay aside his silken robe, decked with jewels, to don the coarse sackcloth of the monk, and to minister as a pauper to his pauper brethren[2]. This, however, was the truth. Gregory laid down his high office (perhaps at the expiration of its usual term), founded and endowed six Benedictine convents in Sicily (then from various causes the especial

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Prefect of the City.

He strips himself of his property and enters a monastery.

[1] See vol. i. p. 214 (p. 608 second edition).

[2] 'Et qui ante serico contextu ac gemmis micantibus solitus erat per urbem procedere trabeatus, post vili contectus tegmine ministrabat pauper ipse pauperibus' (Paulus Diaconus, Vita Gregorii, iv).

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asylum and Paradise of the Church), and divided all the residue of his property among the poor, except one possession, the ancestral palace on the Coelian Mount. This abode he turned into a monastery, which he dedicated to St. Andrew, and into this new monastery the descendant of so many Senators entered in mean attire, not as its abbot, but as the humblest of its brethren.

Monastic life.

It was apparently in the year 575[1] that this great change occurred in the life of Gregory. For the next three years he remained in the monastery, enjoying its deep repose and practising its austerities. His food consisted chiefly of uncooked vegetables, which his mother supplied to him on a silver dish, sole relic of the former splendours of the Coelian palace. This silver dish itself was at last given away to one who bore the appearance of a shipwrecked mariner, and who came for three days in succession, asking for alms. A student of these monastic biographies already knows the sequel. Long afterwards the self-styled shipwrecked mariner appeared again as a glorious angel, and told his benefactor that for him was reserved the honour of sitting in the chair of St. Peter and guiding the Church of God.

'Non Angli sed Angeli.'

Of more interest for us, sons of the Saxons, than the conventional stories of the faintings, the fastings, and the macerations of the body, which, notwithstanding the wise caution of St. Benedict, still filled too large a place in the life of a young and earnest monk, is the story (too well known to need more than an allusion here) of the incident which first kindled Gregory's

[1] Hardly any of the dates in Gregory's life, previous to his elevation to the papacy, can be fixed with certainty.

missionary zeal on behalf of the island of Britain. It was during his residence as a monk in the monastery of St. Andrew that Gregory took that memorable walk through the Forum, in the course of which he saw, exposed for sale, the fair-haired and fresh-faced Yorkshire lads, whose angelic beauty suggested to him the mission to the Angles and the hope of rescuing from the wrath to come the heathen inhabitants of Deira, and teaching the subjects of King Aelle to sing Alleluia.

He starts on a missionary journey.

Gregory himself sought and obtained from Pope Benedict I leave to undertake this great mission, and had already accomplished three days' journey towards Britain when, during the noonday halt, a grasshopper lighted on the page of the scriptures which he was reading. His mind at this time, perhaps throughout his life, seems to have been singularly attuned to that pleasant figure of speech which has been so often an 'infirmity of noble minds,' and which grammarians term *paronomasia*. '*Ecce Locusta!*' said he. 'Does this mean "*Loco sta*" ("Abide still in the place where thou art")? Know ye, my companions, that we shall not be suffered to proceed on our journey.' And even while they were talking, before the hot and tired mules were saddled for the next stage of the journey, messengers arrived who told them that the Pope had withdrawn his permission, and commanded Gregory to return. For the people of Rome, who perhaps thought that Benedict had seen without regret the departure of a man whose sanctity overshadowed his own, gathered round the Papal palace, and shouted with terrible voices, 'Ah, Apostolic one! what hast thou done? Thou hast offended Peter; thou hast destroyed Rome in suffering Gregory to depart.'

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Return to Rome. Is appointed 'Seventh Deacon.'

Thus then Gregory returned to the great City, but not to his convent: for Pope Benedict, whose attention had perhaps, by this very event of his attempted flight and recall, been attracted to the great power and popularity of the former Prefect, now appointed him to the office of 'Seventh Deacon': thus associating him with his own cares and labours[1]. The seven deacons of Rome, as has been already said, superintended—each one with the assistance of a *Regionarius* and his staff—the distribution of the alms of the Church to the poorer classes of the seven regions of the city. The cares of the public 'annona,' which had formerly devolved on the Imperial officers, and preeminently on the Prefect of the City, were thus, in great part, if not altogether, now discharged by the officers of the Church. We are not able exactly to state what is meant by the expression 'Seventh Deacon,' but if, as seems probable, it means the Arch-Deacon, that office was already looked upon as a frequent stepping-stone to the Papacy[2].

Benedict I dies. Is succeeded by Pelagius II (578-590).

Soon, apparently, after Benedict I had thus called Gregory to his side, his own pontificate was ended by his death. The choice of a successor fell not, as yet, upon Gregory, but upon Pelagius II, some of whose letters against the Lombards were quoted in the last chapter. It may have been partly some jealousy of the popularity of Gregory, but more probably a praise-

[1] 'Cernens Romanus pontifex . . . virtutum gradibus Gregorium ad alta conscendere, eum a monasterio abstractum ecclesiastici ordinis officio sublimavit, Levitamque septimum ad suum adjutorium adscivit' (Paul. Diac. Vit. Greg. c. xx).

[2] Wolfsgruber quotes, in proof of this, the language of Eulogius, the contemporary patriarch of Alexandria (apud Photium Cod. 182).

worthy desire to employ his great practical ability on behalf of the Church in a sphere where all that ability was sorely needed, that led the new Pope to send Gregory as his Nuncio, or (as it was then called) his *Apocrisiarius*[1] to the Imperial court of Constantinople.

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Gregory at Constantinople, 579-585(?).

The years, probably not more than six in number[2], during which Gregory remained at Constantinople were important both for the Empire and the Church. He heard a new Emperor proclaimed, and saw a new Patriarch consecrated. On the 14th of August, 582, the over-generous Emperor Tiberius was succeeded by the unconciliatory Maurice; and four months previously the aged Eutychius had been succeeded as bishop of Constantinople by the aspiring John the Faster, a man with whom Gregory was one day to wage a long and difficult spiritual combat. With Eutychius his personal relations appear to have been friendly, but with him too he had a sharp discussion, turning on the mysterious question of the resurrection-body of the saints. Eutychius maintained that this body will be more subtile than aether, and too rare to be perceived by our present bodily senses. Gregory met him with

Discussion with the Patriarch Eutychius.

[1] The Pope's ambassador seems to have been called indifferently Apocrisiarius and Responsalis. The latter word is only the Latin translation of the former.

[2] As before remarked, all the dates of the earlier events in the life of Gregory are more or less conjectural. I should be inclined to make his stay at the Imperial court last from about 579 to 585. The words of his biographers seem to imply that he was sent as Apocrisiarius by Pelagius II soon after the elevation of that pope. He was certainly in Constantinople for some time before the death of Eutychius (April, 582), and since he stood godfather to the young Theodosius, who was born in 585, he must have remained at the Imperial court at least till that year.

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the words of Christ, 'Handle Me and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.' Eutychius answered that this was a body specially assumed by the Saviour in order to reassure the doubting hearts of his disciples; a suggestion which Gregory met by some obvious arguments against such a Docetic resurrection. Eutychius quoted, 'Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God,' and Gregory replied by distinguishing between two different senses of the word 'flesh' in the New Testament. The debate grew warm, and, as such discussions are wont to do, left neither party convinced by the arguments of the other. The good Tiberius visited each of the disputants separately, and tried in vain to reconcile them; but, convinced himself by the arguments of Gregory, committed the treatise of Eutychius to the flames. Ere any open breach had been caused, both the Patriarch and the Nuncio fell sick. Gregory, though his health had been thoroughly broken by his monastic austerities, recovered of this malady, a sharp attack of fever; but Eutychius, who had the burden of seventy years upon him, died of his sickness. On his death-bed he touched his skin, and said to the friends who surrounded him, 'I acknowledge that in this flesh I shall see God'; an allusion to the celebrated passage in Job, which was accepted by Gregory as a recantation of his former errors.

Death of Eutychius, 582. Succeeded by John the Faster, 582-595.

The 'Magna Moralia.'

It was on this same book of Job that Gregory, in the intervals of his busy diplomatic life at Constantinople, found leisure to write the voluminous commentary which goes by the name of the *Magna Moralia*, that marvellous treatise the object of which was to show that 'the book of Job comprehended in itself

all natural, all Christian theology, and all morals. It was at once a true and wonderful history, an allegory containing in its secret sense the whole theory of the Christian Church and Christian sacraments, and a moral philosophy applicable to all mankind[1].'

For our present purpose it is not the religious but the political results of Gregory's residence at Constantinople which are most important. Though I am not aware that he ever gave utterance to the feeling, we can well believe that a Roman noble, one who had seen from his childhood the triumphal arches, the *fora* and the palaces of Rome, glorious even in their desolation, viewed with some impatience the pinchbeck splendours of the new Rome by the Bosphorus, already, it is true, near three centuries old, but still marked with somewhat of the ineffaceable brand of a *parvenu* among cities.

Friendships with members of the Imperial Court.

Gregory made some warm friendships with members of the Imperial family and household. Constantina, the wife, and Theoctista, the sister, of the Emperor; his cousin Domitian, Metropolitan of Armenia; Theodore, the Imperial physician; Narses, a general who not only bore the name, but in some degree shared the fame, of the mightier Narses of a previous generation; these and some others were admitted into the innermost circle of the friends of the Roman Apocrisiarius. But with Maurice himself, though that Emperor paid him the compliment of asking him to stand sponsor for his son, the infant Theodosius, it would seem that his relations were not cordial. We can imagine that

[1] I take this description of the *Magna Moralia* from Milman's History of Latin Christianity, i. 435.

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the Emperor was worried by repeated applications from Rome for help in men and money against the Lombards; applications with which he felt himself unable to comply. We can imagine also that Gregory, in whose eyes 'Roma caput mundi' was the one absolutely priceless jewel of the Empire, was irritated by seeing the resources of the State muddled away, as he deemed it, in somewhat inglorious campaigns against the Persians and the Avars. With his undoubted genius for affairs, he probably despised the wordy inefficiency of the Greek statesmen; with his old Roman pride he scorned the Byzantine servility. Whatever the cause may have been, and though undoubtedly his residence at Constantinople largely increased his knowledge of the great game of politics, and was an invaluable preparation for his own future political career, it seems clear that he left the Thracian capital with no great love in his heart either for the city or the Caesar. After he became Pope he was still outwardly the loyal subject of the Emperor, but 'the little rift within the lute' was already beginning to mar the harmony of their relations. We seem able to trace here that little crack in the earth which, two centuries later, was to widen into a mighty chasm, separating the successor of St. Peter from the successor of Divus Augustus.

Return to Rome. Abbot of his monastery.

It was probably in 585 or 586 that Gregory returned to Rome, and re-entered the monastery of St. Andrew; not now as a humble monk, but as head of the community. We hear scarcely anything of his life during

585-590.

these years of his second residence in the convent, except that, during this time, his pen seems to have been put at the service of the Pope, in the interminable

controversy with the bishops of Istria, about the condemnation of the Three Chapters. We are also told that he inflicted signal punishment on one of his monks who had sinned against the monastic rule that all things were to be in common. This monk, Justus by name, had some knowledge of the art of a physician, and had in that capacity tended Gregory himself in his frequent illnesses. But he had, apparently by the exercise of his profession, earned three golden *solidi*[1], which, against the rule of his order, he kept secreted in his medicine chest. He was attacked by a mortal disease, and his brother Copiosus, a physician outside the monastery, who tended him in his sickness, discovered his secret and reported it to the Abbot. All beside Copiosus were ordered to absent themselves from the sick man's cell. He died almost alone, with the brand of ignominy upon him, in deep penitence for his sin. At his burial his body was laid in unhallowed earth, and a monk threw the three *solidi* after him into his grave, crying with a loud voice, 'Thy money perish with thee.' But after thirty days the heart of Abbot Gregory relented, and he ordered mass to be said without intermission during thirty days more for the soul of Justus, who at the end of the appointed time appeared in a dream to Copiosus, his countenance radiant with joy, and assured him that the penal fire was quenched and that he was now received into the communion of the blessed[2].

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Death of Pelagius II, 590.

In such cares as these passed away the years of Gregory's abbotship. In 589 came the terrible inundations, at the beginning of 590 the more terrible

[1] Twelve shillings a-piece.

[2] Gregorii Dialogi, iv. 55.

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pestilence which ravaged Italy. On the eighth of February Pope Pelagius II died; the clergy and people of Rome flocked to the gate of the monastery of St. Andrew and insisted that Gregory should fill the vacant chair.

Gregory elected Pope. His resistance.

He resisted and wrote a letter to the Emperor Maurice, imploring him to withhold that Imperial assent which in those days was deemed necessary ere the Pope elected by the people and clergy could receive consecration. But the Prefect of the City, who was himself, according to one account, a brother of the Pontiff elect[1], sent a swift messenger, who overtook the bearer of Gregory's letter, suppressed that document, and substituted for it the earnest petition of the people that Gregory should be made Pope.

The answer from the Imperial court was long in arriving, and meanwhile the pestilence raged fearfully in the City. The eyes of all the citizens were turned towards the Abbot of St. Andrew's, who came forth from his seclusion, and, like another John the Baptist, preached a sermon of repentance and conversion to the people[2].

Gregory's sermon on the pestilence.

'The judgments of God are upon us, dearest brethren. Let grief and fear open the path of penitence in our hearts, for it is indeed with us as the prophet Jeremiah said of old, "The sword reacheth

[1] The words of Gregory of Tours (x. 1) are, 'Praefectus urbis Romanae Germanus ejus anticipavit nuntium.' Is Germanus a proper name or does it mean 'brother of Gregory'? Does 'ejus' therefore depend on 'nuntium' or on 'germanus'? This is a point which we have no means of deciding.

[2] The interesting, because absolutely contemporary, report of this sermon is given us by Gregory of Tours (H. F. x. 1), near the very end of his history.

unto the very soul[1]." Lo! the whole people is smitten with the sword of the divine anger and a sudden mortality lays waste the city. The languor of disease does not precede death, for death itself cuts short all its lingering pains. Each one who is struck down is hurried off before he has had time to turn to repentance. The dwellers in the city are not cut off one by one, but in whole companies do they hurry to the grave. The houses are left empty: parents have to behold the funerals of their sons, and their own heirs die before them.

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'Let us then turn to Him who hath said that He willeth not the death of a sinner. Let us imitate the three days' penitence of the men of Nineveh and beseech our merciful God to turn away His anger from us. Therefore, dearest brethren, let us come, with contrite hearts and pure hands and minds prepared for tears, to the Sevenfold Litany, to which I now invite you, and the celebration of which will begin at dawn on the fourth day of the week, according to the following order.'

Order of the solemn procession.

Then followed the programme of the great procession[2], which gives us an interesting glimpse of the 'regions[3]' and churches of Rome at the close of the sixth century:—

(1) In the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian (in

[1] Jer. iv. 10.

[2] This procession, according to a tradition which dates from the seventh century, took place on the festival of St. Mark, the 25th of April (Wolfsgruber, Gregor der Grosse, 58).

[3] These are the *ecclesiastical* regions, seven in number, differing of course from the fourteen regions into which, for civil purposes, the City was divided by Augustus. The boundaries of these seven ecclesiastical regions seem to be not yet clearly ascertained (cf.

BOOK VI. CH. 7. 590. the Roman Forum) were to assemble the great body of the clergy, with the priests of the sixth region.

(2) The abbots and monks of Rome with the priests of the fourth region, in the church of SS. Gervasius and Protasius[1], on the southern slope of the Quirinal.

(3) The abbesses and their nuns with the priests of the first region, in the church of SS. Marcellinus and Peter, on the Via Merulana, a little north of the Lateran.

(4) All the children, with the priests of the second region, in the church of the martyrs John and Paul, on the Coelian Hill, very near to Gregory's own monastery.

(5) All the laymen, with the priests of the seventh region, in the church of the Protomartyr Stephen, that quaint round building which, with its strange and ghastly modern frescoes representing the torments of the martyrs, still stands, a little to the west of the Lateran.

(6) All the widows, with the priests of the fifth region, in the church of St. Euphemia[2].

(7) All the married women, with the priests of the third region, in the church of the holy martyr Clement, that church between the Colosseum and the Lateran, the successive stages of whose development have been

Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom, i. 77 and ii. 33). I do not think we can argue that each of the churches mentioned above stood in the region from which the votaries were to assemble.

[1] Otherwise named from the father of these two saints, St. Vitalis.

[2] Gregorovius (ii. 33), quoting Martinelli, says that the church of St. Euphemia was on the Vicus Patricius, near the Titulus Pudentis, on the Viminal Hill.

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recently laid bare and form one of the most interesting monuments of Christian antiquity in Rome.

From their several places of assembly these seven troops of suppliants were to march in solemn procession, with prayers and tears, to the great basilica on the Esquiline, now known as S. Maria Maggiore, and there for three days in succession (Wednesday to Friday) were to implore the pardon of the Lord for the sins of the people.

The assembling took place at dawn, the march through the streets at the third hour of the day, and all as they went sang loud the great penitential hymn *Kyrie Eleison.* A deacon of Tours, who was present at the ceremony, informed his bishop (the chronicler) that in one hour, while the procession was moving through the streets, eighty men fell to the earth and gave up the ghost; a proof of the severity of the pestilence, but also an event which raises a doubt whether the great concourse, and the excitement of soul caused by the Sevenfold Litany, were the best means of staying its ravages.

With this solemn act of intercession ordered by the chosen of the people, the imagination of much later ages coupled a beautiful legend, which changed the name of one of the best-known monuments of ancient Rome. In the course of the three days' procession, so it was said, Gregory was about to march with the seven groups of chanting penitents over the bridge of Hadrian, in order to worship at the tomb of St. Peter, when, lifting up his eyes, he saw standing on the top of the mighty Mausoleum of Hadrian the Archangel Michael with a flaming sword, which he was in the act of returning to its sheath; thereby

The angel on the Mausoleum of Hadrian.

BOOK VI. CH. 7. showing that the penitential Litany was accepted in Heaven, and that the pestilence was about to cease.

590. From this story the Mausoleum received the name of the Angel's Castle, which it bore already in the tenth century. In later days Pope Benedict XIV (1740–1758) fixed the legend for ever in the memories of all pilgrims to Rome, by erecting that statue of St. Michael which has now stood for a century and a half on the summit of 'The Castle of Sant' Angelo[1].'

Imperial assent. Gregory's election completed.

It seems that seven months elapsed before the Imperial assent to the consecration of the new Pope arrived in Rome. Possibly the wretched state of the City and of Italy, distracted both by pestilence and by the ravages of the Lombards, caused delays to the messengers, alike in going and returning. But the assent came at length; probably about the end of August: and Gregory began to prepare for flight, in order to avert the dreaded honour. Legend[2] said that he was carried forth from one of the City gates in a basket of merchandise, and that he hid himself in some solitude of the Campagna, but that his hiding-place was revealed by a light from heaven. His contemporary and namesake, Gregory of Tours, knows

[1] I follow Gregorovius (ii. 34, 35) in my account of the history of this legend. It is not mentioned by either of the two chief biographers of Gregory, Paulus or Joannes, but first occurs (according to Gregorovius) in the *Legenda Aurea*, written about the end of the thirteenth century. It was, however, doubtless derived from much earlier sources. Gregorovius says, 'The legend dates back long before the tenth century. Possibly some statue of a winged Genius, left standing after the great destruction of the statues by the soldiers of Belisarius, may have given occasion to the legend of St. Michael's appearance.'

[2] As reported by Joannes Diaconus, i. 43.

nothing of all this. He says simply[1]—and this is no doubt the true account of the matter—that 'while he was preparing for flight and concealment, he was taken prisoner, dragged to the basilica of St. Peter, and having there been consecrated to the Pontifical office, was given as a Pope to the City.'

His lamentations over his new dignity.

The letters of Gregory I, for some time after his elevation to the Papacy, are full of lamentations over this disastrous change in his life. 'It is an old and terribly shaken ship,' he writes to the Patriarch of Constantinople[2], 'the command whereof has been entrusted to my weak and unworthy hands. At every seam the waves are entering, and the rotten planks, shaken by daily and fierce tempests, creak out the word "shipwreck." I pray you, in the Almighty's name, stretch out the hand of your prayers to help me.'

To Theoctista, sister of the Emperor, he writes[3]: 'Under the colourable pretext of bishopric, I am in truth brought back into secular life; for in this office I am in bondage to so many worldly cares, that in no part of my career as a layman can I remember to have been in equal slavery. I have lost the deep joys of my old quietness, and while I seem to have risen into a higher station, internally I am in a state of collapse. Thus must I bewail that I am driven far from the face of my Creator. I was endeavouring each day to put myself outside of the world, outside of the flesh, to banish all the phantasms of the body from the eyes of the mind, and to look with disembodied gaze on the joys of heaven. Not in words only, but in my inmost soul did I pant for the countenance of God,

[1] H. F. x. 1. [2] Ep. i. 4. [3] Ep. i. 5.

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saying with the Psalmist, "Thy face, Lord, will I seek[1]." Naught desiring in this world, naught fearing, I seemed to myself to stand, as it were, at the summit of all things, so that I could almost believe that in me was fulfilled the Lord's promise to His prophet, "I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth[2]." Then suddenly, being caught by the whirlwind of temptation, I have been dashed down from this high pinnacle, and plunged into all sorts of fears and terrors, since, though I have no fear for myself, for those committed to my charge I do greatly tremble.'

Then the Pope goes on, in that vein of mystical commentary which was the fashion of the age, to explain that a contemplative life was the Rachel of his tenderest affections, barren, it might be, of visible result, but lovely beyond telling in his eyes. Homely, blear-eyed Leah, the life of activity and affairs, was doubtless more fruitful in offspring, but she possessed none of his love. Yet now that the veil of night was removed, it was to this bride, unlovely and unloved, that he found himself hopelessly united.

After many more reflections of this kind, he ends a long and interesting letter with a grotesque piece of self-disparagement. 'Behold! the most serene Emperor has ordered an ape to become a lion. A lion indeed it may be called at the Imperial command, but a lion it cannot become.'

Were these lamentations sincere?

In reading these many similar utterances of the greatest Pope who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter, we are forced to ask ourselves, 'Is this passionate reiteration of the formula *Nolo episcopari* quite

[1] Psalm xxvii. 8. [2] Isaiah lviii. 14.

sincere?' Gregory could not but know and feel that he had capacities for the great office of the Popedom, such as no other man then living upon the earth possessed. He belonged to the Imperial race of Rome, and showed forth its noblest qualities, as scarce any Roman had done since Trajan died. Is it possible that he was wholly indifferent to the master-passion of his countrymen, Ambition? Must we not rather believe that even in the days of his Prefecture he had perceived that the office of Pope was the only one which brought with it real power, or which was worthy of a Roman's acceptance? And the successive stages of 'the Great Renunciation' which followed, the laying aside of the purple robe, the conversion of the paternal palace into a monastery, the fastings, the austerities, the self-humiliations,—were they not all parts of a subtle and unavowed canvass for that splendid prize?

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As in the cases of Mohammed, of Savonarola, and of Cromwell, this easy hypothesis of conscious hypocrisy seems to me to be a quite inadequate solution of the problem. Rather is the solution to be found in a frank recognition of that dual nature which many men who have played a great part on the stage of the world have evidently possessed. There were two men, not one, within the visible enwrapping of this great Aristocrat Bishop. One man, seeing keenly the follies and vanities of the world, longing after the joys of Heaven, disliking the petty routine of daily business, and cherishing ardent aspirations after that clear vision of the Most High which was thought to be the peculiar guerdon of a life of contemplation:—this man was happy in the cloisters of the Coelian, and had no

BOOK VI. Ch. 7. desire to quit their grateful shade. Another man, inhabiting the same fleshly tabernacle, and thinking
590. through the same brain, saw, as has been said, that none of the offices of the effete and decaying Empire, neither Exarchate, Prefecture, nor Duchy, was, for real power over the wills and inclinations of men, to be compared with the Bishopric of Rome. He saw that the holder of this office had an opportunity of conferring incalculable benefits on powerful races and vast kingdoms of men, and of winning for the half-ruined city by the Tiber a wider and more enduring empire than had been swayed by Titus or by Aurelius. This man, full of a noble ambition, longed to be Pope, and was, perhaps, dimly conscious that the austerities, the generosities, the humiliations of his other self were all bringing him nearer to that splendid goal. But when the goal was reached, satiety began to reign in his soul, and to poison all the joys of possession. Though the strong and vigorous intellect at once set itself to grapple with the difficulties of the situation and overcame them with brilliant success, the body, enfeebled by monastic austerities and tortured by gout, longed for the ordered life and the inviolable repose of the cloister; and the soul, weary of the sordid cares of the administration of the vast Papal Patrimony, yearned for the mystic joys and the serene contemplative happiness which had once been hers. In short, to use his own metaphor, the man was truly wedded to two wives. The Rachel of ascetic holiness was his best beloved, but the Leah of practical beneficence had also a share of his affections, and it was through her progeny, through such facts as the conversion of England, the remodelling of the liturgy, the spiritual

conquest of the Lombards, that Gregory most powerfully influenced the world.

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Gregory's *Epistles.*

The chief monument of Gregory's life of practical statesmanship is the *Epistles*, composed by him during the fourteen years of his pontificate, arranged in fourteen books corresponding to those years, and filling nearly 500 closely printed pages[1]. Though the writer despised all rhetorical artifices, and even allowed himself to speak disrespectfully of the rules of the grammarians[2], he wrote in a vigorous style, and his generally correct, if not polished, Latinity was utterly unlike the grammatical chaos which we find in the writings of his namesake of Tours. It is probably the very fact that he did not care to write rhetorically, which makes his letters so much pleasanter reading than the prolixities of Cassiodorus or the pompous obscurities of Ennodius. He does not, like the scholars of the Renaissance period, labour to give all his sentences a hexameter ending, but they are often instinct with manly and simple eloquence. Thus there is in them no affected imitation of Cicero, but often a true echo of Caesar.

These fourteen books of the *Epistles* of Gregory are a vast quarry, out of which the student of early mediaeval history may hew almost endless material. While the letters of the heathen Prefect, Symmachus,

[1] In Migne's Patrologia.

[2] 'Ipsam loquendi artem, quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant, servare despexi. Nam, sicut hujus quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs motusque et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia indignum vehementer existimo ut verba coelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati' (Epistle to Leander prefixed to *Magna Moralia*, quoted by Wolfsgruber, p. 11).

give us little beside hollow compliments and literary inanities, almost every letter of Gregory affords some information as to the politics, the morals, or the economics of his age. In this respect it would be hardly too much to say that *Gregorii Epistolae* are only surpassed, and not far surpassed, by the two great Codes of Theodosius and Justinian. It is of course impossible in a single chapter of this book to give any proper idea of a correspondence, for an adequate description of which two volumes like the present would not more than suffice; but a few samples culled almost at random throughout the mighty collection may give some faint idea of the world-wide activity of the Second Founder of the Papacy.

Care of the Patrimony of St. Peter.

If not the most anxious of the new Pope's duties, one of the most troublesome to a man who had any longings after contemplative repose, must have been the care of the vast estates which went by the name of the Patrimony of St. Peter. These estates, the proofs of the liberality of the faithful during four or five centuries, had probably been much increased during the last two hundred years by the financial burdens and military perils to which the landowners in outlying districts found themselves exposed. When the demands of the Imperial tax-gatherer were trenching more and more closely on the narrow margin of profit left to the owner of the soil; when the barbarian henchmen of Alaric or Alboin were burning the villas and liberating the slaves in Picenum or Campania, the pleasures of possession began to be outweighed by its anxieties, and the devout landowner felt a strong inducement to make over his threatened domains to the Church and to save his soul by retirement into

a monastery, or his body by flight to Constantinople. Notwithstanding all the troubles of the times, the Church had armour of defence both against the tax-gatherer and the barbarian, such as no lay proprietor possessed, and we may well believe that of all the real estate thus surrendered to the Bishops of Rome, they succeeded in retaining by far the largest portion.

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Extent of the Patrimony.

The Patrimony of St. Peter (we may well marvel what would have been the feelings of the simple-hearted fisherman of Bethsaida, could he have surveyed the lordly lands which were said to be his inheritance) was largest and richest in the island of Sicily; but it also embraced considerable estates in Rome and its environs, in the country of the Sabines, in Picenum, in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, in Campania, Apulia and Bruttii, in Gaul and Illyricum, and in the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. The precise extent of all these widely scattered possessions can only be approximately stated, but a careful German enquirer[1] estimates it at 1800 square miles. These wide domains, it must be remembered, were not ruled, but owned, as an English nobleman owns his estate, and the revenue accruing therefrom is calculated at £420,000 a year.

The care of this magnificent property, though administered by able and generally by conscientious stewards[2], was evidently a heavy burden on the shoulders of an ascetic Pope, to whom great revenues

[1] Grisar in his paper, 'A Survey of the Patrimonies of the Holy See about the year 600' (Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie, 1877, pp. 321–360).

[2] Called *Defensores* or *Rectores*. Originally these were laymen, but Gregory preferred employing ecclesiastics, deacons, presbyters, even bishops, in this office.

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and large estates could, in themselves, bring no pleasure.

Letters to sub-deacon Peter about the Sicilian portion of the Patrimony.

In the first eighteen months of his pontificate Gregory wrote fourteen letters (some of them extremely long ones, touching on a great variety of topics) to the sub-deacon Peter, the steward whom he had set over the Apostolic Patrimony in Sicily, in succession, but not in immediate succession, to a layman, Antoninus the *defensor*[1]. Antoninus, it seems, had in several instances pushed the claims of the Roman Church both against its neighbours and its serfs (*coloni*) beyond what justice and humanity warranted. The new Pope shows in his letters a praiseworthy anxiety that all these wrongs shall be redressed by his representative. Peter, however, as far as we can judge from the letters addressed to him, though an honest man and a personal friend of Gregory's, seems to have been somewhat weak, forgetful and procrastinating. A few passages selected from the fourteen letters just mentioned will help the reader to imagine their general tenour.

'It has come to my ears that during the past ten years, from the times of Antoninus the *defensor*, many persons have suffered violence and wrong at the hands of the Roman Church, and that men openly complain that their borders have been invaded, their slaves enticed away, their moveable property taken from them by the strong hand with no pretence of judicial

[1] Apparently Servus-Dei, a deacon, had been *Rector* of the Sicilian Patrimony immediately before Peter. The Sicilian Patrimony seems to have been sometimes administered as a whole by the same Rector, sometimes divided into two portions, the *Syracusanum* and *Panormitanum*, each with its own Rector (Grisar, l. c. 331–334).

process. Pray, in all these things, let your Experience exercise the most strenuous vigilance, and let this letter be your warrant for the restoration of whatever you may find to have been violently taken away or wrongfully detained in the Church's name during these ten years: that he who has suffered wrong may not be forced to come to us, undertaking the toil of so long a journey, when, after all, the truth of his story cannot be so well tested here as there. Considering, then, the awfulness of the coming Judgment, restore all things that have been sinfully taken away, being assured that you will bring me in a more profitable return if you accumulate the reward of a good conscience than if you bring back great riches.

'We are informed also that many complain of the loss of slaves, saying that any runaway slave who professes himself to be under ecclesiastical law is at once claimed and kept by the Church's bailiffs (*rectores*), who, without any judicial decision in their favour, back up the slave's assertions by violence. All this displeases me as much as it is abhorrent to the spirit of justice and truth. Wherefore I desire that your Experience should shake off all sloth and correct all misdeeds of this kind which you may discover. Let any slaves now in the Church's power, who were taken away without a judge's order, be restored before any proceedings are taken; and if any such do lawfully belong to the Holy Church, let the right to them be asserted against their alleged owners in a regular and orderly action.

'Amend all these abuses with firmness, for you will thus approve yourself a true soldier of the blessed Apostle Peter, if in causes where he is concerned, you

do anxiously maintain truth, without suspicion of partiality even towards Peter himself. But if, on the other hand, you see some piece of property which you think justly belongs to the Church, beware of defending our right even to this with the strong hand; especially since we have published a decree, forbidding, under the penalty of our anathema, the affixing of notices of claim[1] to any property, either urban or rural, by our Church. Whatever reasonably belongs to the poor ought to be defended by reason, lest otherwise our unrighteous action in a good cause should make even our just claims seem unjust in the sight of Almighty God. May the noble laymen and the glorious Praetor love you for your humility and not abhor you for your pride. So act that your humility may not make you slack, nor your authority rigid; but that the righteousness of your purpose may give a seasoning to your humility, and your humility may impart mildness even to your righteousness[2].'

Runagate monks.

In another letter[3], Gregory says that he has been informed that the monks of a city in the south of Italy dispersed by barbaric violence (probably some raid made by the Lombards of the Duchy of Benevento) are wandering over Sicily without a ruler, without any care as to the health of their souls, without the habit of their order. These vagabond monks are all to be collected into the monastery of St. Theodore at Messina, and there placed under proper discipline.

Exactions from the peasants

In another long and extremely interesting, but difficult letter[4], Gregory describes the various unjust

[1] *Tituli.*

[2] Ep. i. 36 (i. 39 a). [3] i. 41 (i. 39). [4] i. 44 (i. 42).

exactions to which the peasants on the farms of the Sicilian Patrimony had been subjected, and orders the immediate reformation of these abuses. These peasants (called *rustici Ecclesiae*) had to pay a corn-rent to the Church, that is the equivalent in golden *solidi* of a certain number of pecks[1] of corn; and Gregory enjoins that they shall not have the value of the peck oppressively beaten down in times of plenty. Thus, if there were a bountiful harvest, the Church under Gregory's liberal management of her estates would leave to her tenants the whole of the profit which the favourable year had brought them. It would certainly seem, however, as if an unvarying price fixed for the *modius* must have borne hardly upon the rustic in years of scarcity.

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on the Patrimony.

The iniquitous oppressions of the farmers of the ecclesiastical revenue, some of whom insisted on the peasants supplying 25 *sextarii*[2] to the *modius* instead of the normal 16, were rigorously suppressed, a margin of 2 *sextarii* only (or 18 to the *modius*) being left to allow for shrinkage or short measurement[3]. The unjust weights which, according to the report of a previous administrator[4], were found to be in use in some parts of the Patrimony, were to be at once broken, and new and righteous weights made in their stead. To prevent the recurrence of any similar exactions after Pope Gregory's death, each tenant was to receive a document called his *libellus securitatis*,

[1] *Modii.*

[2] Pints.

[3] This provision clearly points to a payment of the rents in kind, while the previous paragraph as clearly indicated a payment in money. Probably the usage was different on different estates of the Sicilian Patrimony.

[4] Servus-Dei.

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in which the exact sum that might be legally claimed from him was to be clearly set forth.

Besides these and many other ordinances of a general kind for the regulation of the estate, a great number of cases of individual hardship were dealt with in this letter, which gave orders for their relief.

Defaulting stewards of the Church.

Both Antoninus the *defensor* and a certain Theodosius (who was perhaps a subordinate in the Patrimonial Estate-office) seem to have died in debt to the Church. The legacies left by Antoninus were to be in part discharged by Peter out of his sequestered property. From the goods of Theodosius a return was to be made to the unfortunate peasants who had been forced to pay their taxes to the Imperial government twice over, Theodosius having collected the money from them and then made default in his payments to the treasury. 'If, after repayment of the sum required for this purpose, amounting to 507 *solidi* [£304], there are still left, as you reckon, 40 *solidi* [£24], they may be handed over to the daughter of Theodosius, that she may redeem her property which is in pawn. And we wish also that her father's drinking-cup[1] be restored to her.'

Almost every word of this long and carefully-written letter, of some forty paragraphs, is in favour of a wise and generous liberality towards the tenants, the servants and the debtors of St. Peter. Yet that the Pope could, on occasion, use sharpness is clearly seen, not only by the command, twice or thrice repeated, 'Lay aside all sluggishness[2],' and fulfil this or that commission, but also by the following caustic

[1] *Baciola.*

[2] 'Postpositâ omni tarditate.'

paragraph about an order which Gregory had given with reference to a member of his own family, and which Peter had apparently forgotten:—

A sharp reprimand.

'We must express our great thanks to your Anxiety[1], since I desired, in respect to my brother's affairs, that you should retransmit his money [hither], which injunction you have treated with as complete forgetfulness as if it had proceeded from the meanest of your slaves. Now then, let—I will not say your Experience, but—your Negligence set about obeying my commands. Anything of his which you may find to have been lodged with Antoninus, retransmit [hither] with all speed.'

At last the long letter, the fruit probably of many days of toil, ends thus:—

'Carefully read over all these commands and lay aside that too fondly indulged habit of negligence. Cause my writings which I have addressed to the rustics to be read to them on every farm; that they may know how they ought to defend themselves by our authority against the violence of their superiors, and let authentic copies be given to every one of them. See that you keep all these precepts in their integrity, for I, who write them for the preservation of justice, am thereby freed from responsibility, and you, if you neglect my words, remain bound. Consider the terrible Judge who is coming, and let that consideration cause you to tremble now before His Advent, lest you should then fear, and have no plea to urge in your behalf[2], when before His presence

[1] 'Agimus autem gratias Sollicitudini tuae.' This of course is ironical.

[2] 'Ne tunc sine causâ [?] jam timeat consideratio tua.'

BOOK VI. CH. 7. Heaven and Earth shall tremble. You have heard what I wish: see that you perform it.'

In other letters of this series Gregory gives orders that the son of a certain Godischalcus[1], being blind and poor, shall receive annually 24 pecks of wheat, 12 pecks of beans, and 20 *decimatae* (?) of wine, at the charge of the Patrimony[2]; while Pastor, a man apparently of somewhat higher rank, formerly on the staff of the *Magister Militum*, who is also afflicted with blindness, having a wife and two servants, is to receive annually 300 pecks of wheat and 300 of beans out of the same revenues[3].

Joanna, the wife of Cyriacus, a woman who was converted from Judaism to Christianity after her betrothal, has been subjected to some annoyance in the courts of law, probably by her Jewish relatives, from whom she is to be protected in future.[4] The possessions of the Church of Tauromenium (beautiful Taormina), which border on the Patrimony of St. Peter, are said to have been unjustly invaded by the bailiffs[5] of the Roman Church, and it is ordered that these wrongs shall be redressed[6].

The live-stock in the Patrimony.

The correspondence closes with another long letter[7], the receipt of which, we may be sure, caused some bitter heart-stabs to the procrastinating sub-deacon. After directing that the Jewish tenants on the Church's farms, if they are willing to become Christians, shall receive some mitigation of their pecuniary burdens, the Pope passes on to ordinary landlord's

[1] Evidently the Teutonic name Gottschalk. The new edition reads Filimuth, another Teutonic name.

[2] i. 46 (i. 44).

[3] i. 67 (i. 65).

[4] i. 71 (i. 69).

[5] *Actionarii.*

[6] i. 73 (i. 71).

[7] ii. 32 (ii. 38).

business: 'Let the cows that are too old to calve, and the bulls which appear to be useless, be sold, so that at least their price may serve some good purpose. I wish all those herds of horses which we keep in very useless style to be disposed of, and only 400 of the younger mares to be kept for breeding. Of these, one is to be sent to the tenant of each farm[1], who is each year to make some return on its behalf, for it is a very hard thing that we should be paying 60 *solidi* [£36] a year to our stud-grooms[2], and not receiving 60 *denarii* [£2 10*s.*] from our stud.'

Towards the end of the letter, the Pope says, 'You have moreover sent us one wretched horse and five good asses. The horse I cannot ride, because it is a wretch, nor the asses, good as they are, because they are asses. I pray you, if you are disposed to serve me, to bring with you something worthy of my acceptance.'

Peter recalled to Rome.

The reason why the Pope tells Peter to bring the horse with him is because he has already, in an earlier part of the letter, summoned him to Rome. Gregory himself is sick, but he desires the sub-deacon to come to him with all speed before St. Cyprian's day[3], that he may escape the equinoctial storms. He wishes to consult with Peter whether it will be better that he should return to Sicily or that some one else shall be appointed in his place. Several sentences reveal the Pontiff's deep dissatisfaction with his subordinate. 'If you have an atom of sense[4], you will be able to arrange this matter so as to perform my will without

[1] *Condoma.* [2] *Pastoribus.*

[3] 14 September, 592.

[4] 'Si quidem parvo corpusculo majorem sapientiam habes.'

BOOK VI. CH. 7. displeasing the bishop of Syracuse. I wrote to you to pay the legacies of Antoninus. I cannot think why your Experience has delayed the execution of my orders. I desire you to attend to these payments at once, that you may not, when you come to visit me, leave behind you the groans of the poor.'

'Abbot Martinianus tells me that the storehouse[1] in the Praetoritan monastery is not yet half finished. Wherefore, what can I do but praise the zeal of your Experience[2]? Even now, being thus warned, rouse yourself and show what you can do towards the construction of that monastery.'

'I am further informed that you have ascertained that some [moveable] things and many farms [in our possession] belong of right to other owners, but that, owing to the entreaties of certain persons or your fear of them, you hesitate to restore these things to their lawful owners. But if you were truly a Christian, you would fear the judgment of God more than the voices of men. Give your mind to this business, about which I have incessantly warned you. If you fail to fulfil it, my words will rise up as witnesses against you at the last day.'

Such being the mood of mind to which eighteen months of Peter's administration had brought his master, it is not surprising that his official career soon came to an end. The letter from which these extracts have been taken, virtually contained his dismissal, and we have no more epistles of Gregory addressed to Peter the sub-deacon of Sicily[3].

[1] *Fabrica.* [2] Ironical.

[3] Prof. Grisar (p. 332) takes rather a different view of the relations of Gregory and Peter from that given in the text.

Expenditure of the Papal revenues.

Of course, not only the receipt, but also the expenditure, of the large income derived from the Papal Patrimony imposed severe labour on so conscientious a steward of his wealth as Pope Gregory. Hints of his discriminating liberality to the poor have reached us in the few letters already quoted. The description of his public benefactions given by Joannes Diaconus, though written nearly three centuries after his death, seems vouched for in a way that entitles it to credit:—

'He turned into money[1] the revenues of all the *patrimonia* and farms, according to the ledger[2] of [Pope] Gelasius, of whom he seems to have been a most studious follower: and then, having collected all the officials of the Church, the palace, the monasteries, the lesser churches, the cemeteries, the deaconries[3], the reception-houses for strangers[4], in the city and suburbs, he decided from the ledger (in accordance with which, distribution is still made[5])

According to him Peter was such an intimate friend of the Pope's that the latter could safely address him in a vein of scolding banter and mock anger without fear of his words being taken too literally. The fact that Peter reappears as Rector of Campania in the third book of the *Epistles* is, according to Grisar, a proof that the Pope was not seriously offended with him. But the name Peter is such a common one that we cannot affirm with certainty that the Rector of Campania is the same person as the deposed Rector of Sicily, and I think most men will feel that if Gregory's letters to the latter are only a joke, they are a joke of a very disagreeable kind.

[1] *Adaeravit*: meaning, as I understand it, that he commuted the *tributa* payable in kind into a money-payment.

[2] *Polypticus*. [3] *Diaconia*. [4] *Xenodochia*.

[5] 'Quo hactenus erogatur.' 'Erogatur,' as we have seen (vol. iv. p. 169), is the word which was used in Imperial Rome for the distribution of water from an aqueduct.

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how many *solidi*, out of the above-named receipts in gold and silver, should be given to each person four times in the year, namely, at Easter, on the birthday of the Apostles[1], on the birthday of St. Andrew[2], and his own birthday. At the first dawn of the day of the Lord's resurrection, in the basilica of Pope Vigilius, near to which he dwelt, he gave to all bishops, presbyters, deacons, and other dignitaries of the Church, an *aureus*[3] a-piece, after bestowing on them the kiss of peace[4].

'On the first day of each week, he distributed to the poor generally, the same kinds of produce which were collected from the rents[5]. Thus corn in its season, and in their several seasons, wine, cheese, pulse, bacon or other wholesome flesh[6], fish and oil, were most discreetly distributed by that father of the family of God[7]. But pigments and other delicate articles of commerce were courteously offered by him to the nobles of the City, so that the Church came to be regarded as the warehouse of the whole community.'

'To three thousand maids of God (whom the Greeks call *monastriae*) he gave 15 lbs. of gold[8] for

[1] June 29. [2] Nov. 30. [3] Twelve shillings.

[4] On the Apostles' birthday and his own 'mistos solidos offerens, peregrina nihilominus vestimenta offerebat.' I have not found the clue to the meaning of these words.

[5] 'Easdem species quae congerebantur ex reditibus erogabat.' This seems to agree with the suggestion made above as to the diversity of practice in different patrimonies. *Adaeratio*, money commutation, was the rule, but payment in kind still survived alongside of it.

[6] 'Lardum seu manducabilia animalia.'

[7] 'Paterfamilias Dei.'

[8] £600, or four shillings a-piece.

bed-furniture[1] and bestowed upon them for their daily stipends 80 lbs.[2] annually.'

'Moreover, every day, by means of charioteers appointed to the office, he sent out cooked rations to all the sick and infirm poor throughout the streets and lanes of the City. To those who had seen better days[3] he would send a dish[4] from his own table, to be delivered at their doors with his Apostolic blessing.'

The biographer then goes on to tell us of Gregory's grief on learning that a poor man in one of the common lodging-houses of Rome had died of hunger. He blamed himself as if he had killed the man with his own hands, and for some days he would not permit himself to celebrate mass.

'There exists to this day,' Joannes continues, 'in the most holy muniment room[5] of the Lateran Palace, a very great paper volume, compiled in his times, wherein the circumstances of all persons of either sex, of all ages and professions, whether at Rome or in the suburbs, in the neighbouring towns, or even in the far-off cities of the coast, are described in detail, with their names, ages, and the *remunerationes* which they received.'

Certainly in all these philanthropic engagements there was abundance of work, abundance of drudging and wearisome routine, to fill up the hours of a studious and meditative Pope. Leah's progeny came with quick-thronging steps, with loud and importunate voices, to call the *Paterfamilias Dei* away from communion with the Rachel in whom his soul delighted.

In addition to the cares of the largest landowner

[1] *Pro lectisterniis.* [2] £3200: £1 1s. 4d. a-piece.
[3] *Verecundioribus.* [4] *Scutella.* [5] *Scrinium.*

BOOK VI. CH. 7.

His work as Metropolitan of the West.

in Italy and the greatest almsgiver in Rome, there were those cares which came upon Gregory as the Metropolitan Bishop of the West. In reading his correspondence we realise how thoroughly monarchical the constitution of the great Latin Patriarchate had now become. For generations the tendency of events had been in this direction, and when a man of Gregory's saintly character and intellectual force entered the Lateran Palace, the transformation was complete. The chair of St. Peter was now indeed a throne. Though desirous to preserve the dignity of his brother bishops unimpaired, Gregory would assert, upon occasion, almost with severity, the right of the Bishop of Rome to the unquestioning obedience of all the bishops of the West, and even to receive appeals from the East and to reverse the judgments of the Patriarch of Constantinople himself. So wide a spiritual Empire necessarily brought a vast accession of care to him who ruled it, especially when the ruler was such a man as Gregory.

In Africa.

In Africa he organised a system of firm and quiet ecclesiastical pressure, which, with the frequently-invoked assistance of the secular arm, at length extinguished the schism of the Donatists—a schism which had lasted for three centuries and which the Catholic Church in Africa vanquished, only just in time to enjoy the honours of victory before she and her rivals were swept together into destruction by the followers of Mohammed.

In Sardinia.

In Sardinia Gregory stirred up the clergy to undertake the conversion of the idolatrous Barbaricini, and set himself to control the vagaries of the bishop of Cagliari, the white-haired Januarius, who crowned the

eccentricities of a lifetime by going forth into his neighbours' corn-fields, and ploughing them on the Lord's Day, both before and immediately after his celebration of mass[1].

In Gaul.

In France, by his correspondence with his somewhat lethargic vicar, Vergilius, bishop of Arles, he laboured, with more zeal than success, to correct that barbarisation of the Gallican Church, of which the pages of 'Gregory of Tours' furnish so terrible a picture, to uproot the simony which was destroying the Church's life, to induce the bishops to resume their almost abandoned custom of assembling in national and provincial councils for the reform of abuses, and to combat the disorders which were making the Frankish monastery, and yet more the Frankish nunnery, a scandal to Christendom.

In Spain.

With Visigothic Spain, which (as has been related), after nearly two centuries of uncompromising Arianism, had entered the Catholic fold three years before Gregory's elevation to the Papacy, the correspondence is somewhat less active than might have been expected, from the splendour of such a conquest and from the ties of old friendship which bound the Pope to the most conspicuous actor in the drama, Leander

[1] The scandal apparently consisted not only in ploughing on Sunday, but also in removing the landmark of the bishop's neighbour, a certain Donatus, who made complaint to the Pope and brought back the letter of admonition: 'Dictum mihi est quod dominico die, priusquam missarum solemnia celebrares, ad exarandum messem latoris presentium perrexisti, et post exarationem ejus missarum solemnia celebrasti. Post missarum solemnia etiam terminos possessionis illius eradicare minime timuisti' (Ep. ix. i). 'Die dominico ante missas messem de agro quem Donatus possidebat fecisti exarari' (Ep. ix. 4 (11)).

the Metropolitan of Seville. In a letter[1], written just after his consecration, Gregory, while expressing his joy at the conversion of his 'most glorious son Recared' to the Catholic faith, entreats Leander to warn his nephew against the snares of the devil, which, in his case, will probably take the shape of temptations to spiritual pride. The correspondence then seems to languish. Perhaps Recared expected a more enthusiastic welcome from the pontiff. Perhaps he was engaged in suppressing some revolt of the discontented Arians. At any rate the first letter from the Visigothic king to the Pope is assigned to so late a date as the ninth year of Gregory's pontificate. In this letter[2], written in somewhat halting and barbarous Latin (possibly the consciousness of these defects had something to do with the King's silence), Recared excuses himself for having so long delayed to express his reverence to the head of the Christian priesthood. Hindered for three years by the cares of his kingdom, he had at last chosen certain abbots and charged them to bear his gifts to St. Peter. But when already within sight of the shores of Italy they were overtaken by the violence of the sea, thrown back on the rocks near Marseilles, and barely escaped with life. Now at last Recared sends another messenger, with a golden chalice studded with gems for the Apostolic treasury, and the expression of his profound reverence for the Pope, whom he has already learned to love through his conversations with his uncle Leander. Apparently this letter was accompanied or followed by a communication of a more political nature.

[1] Ep. i. 43 (41).

[2] ix. 61 (227 a).

Recared and the Empire.

King Recared desired to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Emperor, who had acquired (as we have seen) a footing on both sides of the Peninsula, and, with this view, asked for a sight of the treaty between Justinian and an earlier Visigothic king, a copy of which he believed to be stored in the archives of the Holy See. The request gives us a glimpse into the still lingering barbarism of the court of Toledo, which, for a document so vitally affecting its own interests, had to depend on the presumed superior accuracy of the Papal chancery, though that body had really no immediate concern in the affair. In this case, however, Gregory replied that the archives of the See had suffered so severely from fire in the time of Justinian, that scarcely a single paper of that time was still extant[1].

As some compensation for this disappointment, and an indication of good-will, 'we send you,' says the Pontiff, 'a little key from the most holy body of the blessed Apostle Peter, in which is enclosed some iron from his chains, so that the same metal which bound his neck to the cross of his martyrdom may loose you from all your sins[2]. The bearer of these presents will also offer you a crucifix, wherein is some of the wood of our Lord's cross, and some hairs of the blessed John the Baptist: so that by means of this cross you may

[1] 'Chartofilacium, praedicto piae memoriae Justiniani principis tempore, ita subripiente subito flamma incensum est, ut omnino ex ejus temporibus pene nulla carta remaneret' (Ep. ix. 122 (229)). As Justinian's foothold in Spain was not obtained till 554, we cannot connect the fire which destroyed this document with any of the sieges of Rome during the Ostrogothic war.

[2] This 'key of St. Peter' was a favourite present from Gregory to his votaries.

BOOK VI. CH. 7. also have the consolations of Christ, through the intercession of his Forerunner.'

Conversion of England. The spiritual conquest of Spain was glorious, but it had been achieved before Gregory mounted the Papal throne. The conquest of England was all his own work, his own daring thought translated into action. In 596 he sent forth Augustine, Abbot of his own beloved monastery of St. Andrew, on his memorable mission, armed with letters of introduction to all the chief prelates of Gaul, requesting them to speed the missionaries on their way. But whatever might be the outward professions of respect and obedience tendered by these eminent ecclesiastics, so weak was their faith, and so alarming the picture which they drew of the savage temper of our Saxon forefathers, that the timid monks, accustomed as they were to the stormless atmosphere of the convent, shrank from encountering the perils before them, and Augustine actually returned to Rome to beseech permission to abandon the difficult enterprise. Then it was that Gregory's singleness of purpose and inflexibility of will saved the endangered project, and he who had once, in obedience to a Pope, left the path to Britain untrodden, now, as Pope, claimed the obedience of Augustine, sent him forth again on his great mission, and forced upon the timid Abbot of St. Andrew's the glory of being the first Archbishop of Canterbury.

597. The success of that mission, the conversion of Ethelbert and the larger part of his nobles and people to Christianity, are events which lie beyond our present province, and are too well known to need more than a passing allusion here. All that we are here concerned with is the fresh burden of toil, fruitful and

triumphant, but still toil, which the conduct of this great enterprise must have brought upon the pain-racked Pope. In 601 he sent out a second mission under Mellitus, to reinforce Augustine and his fellow-labourers. These also had to be sped upon their difficult way; letters of commendation had to be written for them to the Gaulish bishops, and protection had to be claimed from the Frankish kings. In the same year a letter was sent to Augustine, in which, at great length, Gregory replied to eleven questions which the English missionary had addressed to him as to the government of the new province won from heathenism. The questions travelled over a wide range of subjects, touching on the division of the Church revenues, the punishment of sacrilege, the degrees of affinity within which marriage was prohibited, the consecration of bishops, the ceremonial defilements which operated as a bar to holy communion, and so forth. Gregory's answers were upon the whole wise and statesmanlike, especially in reference to varying ecclesiastical usages. 'Your Brotherhood knows already the custom of the Roman Church in which you remember that you were nourished. But my pleasure is that you should carefully select, not only from the Roman, but also from the Gallican, or any other Church, whatsoever you can find that is pleasing to Almighty God, and in the Church of the Angles, which is still new to the faith, implant all that you have thus collected from various Churches. For we ought not to value a thing because of the place from which it has sprung, but value places according to the things which they produce[1]. From

601.

[1] 'Non enim pro locis res, sed pro rebus loca nobis amanda sunt' (Ep. xi. 64).

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the several Churches, therefore, select all customs which are godly, religious, just, and, weaving them all into one wreath, crown with them the souls of the Angles.'

Gregory's reconstruction of the Liturgy and reform of Church music.

Besides that which came upon Gregory daily, the care of all the Churches, he laboured also at that reformation (if it were in truth a reformation) of the music of the Church, which has perpetuated his fame in some quarters where his other great deeds are little remembered. He remodelled the Roman Liturgy, composing a new *Sacramentarium* and *Antiphonarius*, and giving to the service of the Mass nearly the same form which it bears at the present day in the Roman ritual[1]. He established and endowed two schools of singers, one at the Lateran, the other under the steps of the

[1] Lau, in his 'Gregor I der Grosse' (pp. 251–258), discusses at some length the obscure and difficult question of the changes which the *Sacramentarium* and *Antiphonarius* of Gregory underwent at the hands of later compilers. A more recent writer, Grisar (in the Theologische Zeitschrift for 1885; quoted by Wolfsgruber, p. 396), seems to have successfully vindicated Gregory's claim to a larger share in the composition of the Roman Liturgy as it now stands than would have been conceded by the writers followed by Lau. His changes seem to have been chiefly in the direction of abbreviation; but the various parts of the service were apparently still scattered over many books, the *Sacramentarium*, the *Antiphonarius*, the *Apostolus*, the *Diptychs*, and so forth, and not yet collected into one volume for the convenience of the officiating priest. Wolfsgruber (following the Benedictine Kienle) gives a striking picture (pp. 398–413) of High-Mass as performed by the Pope at S. Maria Maggiore on Easter-day, 600. It was an elaborate and splendid ceremony, but differed in some respects from the modern rite. All the priests present joined, in a low voice, in the words of consecration. No bell announced the elevation of the Host. The bread and wine were provided out of the actual offerings of the faithful, and the laity communicated in both kinds.

basilica of St. Peter [1], at which the pupils were taught the Gregorian 'plain song,' which now superseded the Ambrosian chants, and the musical scale divided into octaves, which superseded the eighteen *tones* or five tetrachords of the Greeks. Three centuries after his death, men still looked with veneration upon the memorials of Gregory's musical enthusiasm which were preserved in the Lateran Palace, not only the authentic copy of his *Antiphonarius*, but the bed on which he reclined when, racked with gout and dyspeptic pains, he still persisted in giving his lessons to the choir, and the rod with which he corrected the youthful singers, when they failed to render a passage in one of his chants correctly.

Government of his household.

As diligently as he laboured to cultivate the musical sense of his people, even so diligently did he reorganize his own household at the Lateran on the strictest monastic and Roman models. All the lay servants who had ministered to the pride and luxury of former pontiffs were banished from his palace. None but monks and clergy were to be found in attendance on the visible head of the Church. The Pope led, with these, his brethren in religion, that life in common which was the characteristic of the convent, and we may fairly infer that he, though lord of such mighty resources, submitted himself to that stern prohibition against private property which he had enforced so rigidly against the unfortunate Justus.

All offices held by ecclesiastics.

This change applied not merely to the personal attendants of the Pontiff. He first, apparently, inaugurated that strict rule that the Church's possessions should be governed by churchmen, which prevailed with

[1] Joann. Diac. ii. 6.

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few exceptions down to the fall of the temporal power of the Popes in our own day. 'No layman could administer any part of the Church's patrimony, but all ecclesiastical charges were held by ecclesiastical men, laymen being relegated to the profession of arms or the occupations of agriculture[1].'

Roman patriotism of Gregory.

And not only was the lay element excluded from even the outer courts of the Church's service; the descendant of so many Roman Senators also barred his doors against the all-pervading influence of the barbarians. 'None,' says his biographer, 'of those who were in the Pope's service, from the lowest to the highest, ever showed anything barbarous either in speech or attire, but the purest Latinity of speech, and the constant use of the *toga* of the Quirites or the *trabea* [of the old Consuls] preserved, as it were, an inviolate Latium in the dwelling of the Latin Pope[2].'

Relics in his ancestral home.

From his palace in the ancient domain of the Senator Lateranus, the gift of Constantine to the Roman See, Gregory doubtless often wandered to his own ancestral home on the slope of the Coelian Hill, scarcely more than half a mile distant, that palace which had become the monastery of St. Andrew. There[3] are still shown his marble chair and a recess in the wall, in which, if the inscription speak truly, the great Pope often

[1] Joann. Diac. ii. 15. I have some doubt whether an exception should not be made to this statement as regards the *defensores*, who seem to have still been appointed from among the laity.

[2] Joann. Diac. ii. 13: 'Nullus Pontifici famulantium, a minimo usque ad maximum, barbarum quodlibet in sermone vel habitu proferebat: sed togata Quiritum more seu trabeata Latinitas suum Latium in ipso Latiali palatio singulariter obtinebat.'

[3] In what is now the church of S. Gregorio.

passed the night. There undoubtedly, for centuries after his death, were visible the contemporary portraits, in fresco, of himself and his parents, with which the liberality of Gregory had adorned the walls of the convent. Near the fountain in the courtyard were two doors, on one of which St. Peter, in a sitting posture, was represented as holding out an encouraging right hand to the *regionarius*, Gordian, father of Gregory. Gordian was depicted as tall of stature, with somewhat solemn face but penetrating eyes, with short hair and scanty beard. His feet were shod with the military *caliga*, and over his dalmatic was thrown a mantle (*planeta*) of a chestnut colour.

Portrait of Gregory's father.

Silvia, the mother of Gregory, was painted as also tall, but with a round and cheerful face, beautiful notwithstanding the wrinkles of age, and with the large grey eye of genius. On her head she wore the turban of a Roman matron, and over her milk-coloured tunic a white veil flowed in ample folds from her shoulders to her feet. With two fingers of her right hand she made the sign of the cross, while her left hand held the Psalter, open at the words, 'My soul liveth and it shall praise thee, and thy judgments shall help me.' A scroll in the background of the picture, running from the right shoulder to the left, bore the words, 'GREGORIVS SILVIAE MATRI FECIT.'

Portrait of his mother.

In an apse behind the monks' *cellarium* (cupboard) was the likeness of Gregory himself, designed by the same artist—a namesake of his own—who had painted the portraits of his parents. A face which combined in comely proportions the length of his father's, and the roundness of his mother's, countenance; a high and noble forehead crowned with two little curls

Portrait of Gregory.

BOOK VI. Ch. 7.

bending towards the right; a head, bald above but with a wisp of nearly black hair, brushed back behind his ears; dark and small eyes, and a slightly aquiline nose; fresh-coloured cheeks, which became even high-coloured[1] towards the close of his life; moderate stature and a goodly figure; long taper fingers which seemed well adapted to handle the pen of the writer:—such was the guise in which, 270 years after his death, John the Deacon beheld the mightiest of the Popes, the converter to Christianity of our Saxon forefathers.

[1] 'Colore aquilino (?) et vivido, nondum, sicut ei postea contigit, cardiaco (?).'

NOTE F. The Letters of Pope Gregory I.

These letters, the importance of which is recognized by every student of the history of the Middle Ages, have lately been made the subject of an exceedingly minute and critical examination by Paul Ewald, the scholar who was employed to edit them for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* Unhappily he died before even the first section of the letters was published, but the work is being carried on upon the lines indicated by him, and will probably soon be completed.

Meanwhile the indispensable guide for every student who would thoroughly explore the documentary history of these important letters is an article written by Ewald, which appeared in the third volume of the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* (1878). The article is long, occupying nearly 200 pages of the *Neues Archiv.* It is not quite as clear as it might be, and it is certainly not easy reading, but, as before said, it must be studied by any one who wishes to form an independent judgment of the chronology of Gregory's pontificate. All that I propose to do here is to summarize the chief results of Ewald's investigations, and to erect a few guide-posts which may direct future students through the jungle.

The edition of Gregory's letters which has been most extensively used up to the present time is that put forth in 1705 by the Benedictine congregation of St. Maur[1]. The soul of this enterprise was *Dom Denis de Ste. Marthe* (Dionysius Sammarthanus), who, however, unfortunately handed over the actual editing of the letters to a greatly inferior scholar, Dom Guillaume Bessin, whose work sometimes incurred his censure. Pope Clement XI sent Ste. Marthe twenty-four gold medals in token of his approval. Ste. Marthe sold them all, and gave the proceeds to the poor, nor would he allow his name to appear on the title-

[1] Always called by Ewald 'Die Maurinerausgabe.' For convenience' sake I speak of it as the *Benedictine* edition.

NOTE F. page of the work; so nobly unselfish was the spirit in which these Benedictine scholars laboured. The text adopted in this edition does not come up to the requirements of modern criticism, not being founded on an accurate collation even of all the MSS. to which the editors had access (and which were chiefly French and Italian codices). It has also suffered somewhat from the anxiety of the good fathers to make the Pope always write classical Latin. But on the whole it is a fair working text, and, as far as differences of readings go, it would not be necessary to remark here upon its defects. The really important question is as to the *order of the letters*, and before we can discuss that question we must follow Ewald through a long, perhaps tedious, analysis.

The sheet-anchor of the Benedictine editors, and the MS. which they mainly follow in arranging the order of the letters, is *Codex Vaticanus A*, a beautifully written MS. of the fifteenth century, with gilt initials at the beginning of each letter, and careful paintings at the beginning of each book. The collection of the Gregorian letters herein contained was apparently made by order of John IV, archbishop of Milan (1485–8), an intimate friend of Galeazzo Maria Sforza. This arrangement is always spoken of by Ewald as the *Milanese Codification.*

Of course, in itself, a fifteenth century MS., however beautifully executed, is not a first-rate authority for letters at the end of the sixth century; and we therefore naturally enquire on what foundations this Milanese Codification rests. Ewald's researches prove that it rests on *three separate collections of Gregorian letters*, dating from a very early period, which had never been all combined before the fifteenth century, and *the manner of whose arrangement in the Milanese Codification is certainly erroneous.*

I. The Hadrianic Register (R). Much the largest and most important of these partial collections is that which Ewald calls the *Hadrianic Register*, and denotes by the symbol R. To this belong 686 out of the total 851 letters of Gregory which are still extant. It is a collection, or, more properly speaking, a selection of the great Pope's letters made in the time of Pope Hadrian I (772–795), and probably by his order. This Pope gave the Emperor Charles the Great a copy of the Decretals and a Sacramentarium of Gregory; and it seems highly probable

that he may have accompanied these gifts by a copy of selected Epistles of the Pontiff. It seems clear, however, that the Hadrianic Register cannot have been a complete transcript of the great *libri Charticii* which once existed at the Lateran, and which are described by Gregory's biographer Joannes Diaconus. This is proved—

(1) By the express language of Joannes Diaconus (evidently describing the Hadrianic Register). He tells us (IV. 71) that 'from the multitude of the books of Pope Gregory's letters certain decretal letters were extracted, according to their several Indictions, and collected into two volumes as is at present seen.'

(2) By the title borne by some of the MSS., 'Epistolae ex registro b. Gregorii,' showing that it is but a selection.

(3) By the existence of certain letters (165 in all) in the other collections which we do not find in this. We must therefore carefully distinguish between the great *Lateran Register* on sheets of papyrus, which has long since perished, and the *Hadrianic Register*, which, though far the most complete collection that we possess, is only an approximation towards that now unattainable ideal.

The great characteristic of this Collection R, and that which makes it especially valuable for our present purpose, is that it is arranged '*under Indictions*,' that is, in fourteen books corresponding to the fourteen years of Gregory's pontificate.

Moreover, as stated by Joannes Diaconus, it was *in two volumes*. The first of these contained the letters of seven years (Sept. 590 to Aug. 597, or from the ninth to the fifteenth Indiction inclusive). These letters were 393 in number. The second also contained the letters of seven years (Sept. 597 to Mar. 604, or from the first to the seventh Indiction inclusive). These letters were 293 in number. Total 686. These two volumes have been often separated from one another by transcribers, and in some cases have drifted far apart, and undergone strange combinations with the other collections; but with these phenomena, though they must have enormously increased Ewald's labour in tracing the documentary history of the collection, we need not here concern ourselves[1].

[1] For brevity's sake, Ewald, who styles the whole Hadrianic Register R, labels the first volume r, and the second ρ, and then traces, with the industry of an analytical chemist, the various combinations into which r and ρ

NOTE F. It will suffice to give the results, showing the distribution of the letters through this, the only satisfactory chronological collection.

VOLUME I.

Indiction	IX:	September 1,	590–August 31,		591,	contains	82	letters.
,,	X	,,	591	,,	592	,,	41	,,
,,	XI	,,	592	,,	593	,,	65	,,
,,	XII	,,	593	,,	594	,,	44	,,
,,	XIII	,,	594	,,	595	,,	56	,,
,,	XIV	,,	595	,,	596	,,	63	,,
,,	XV	,,	596	,,	597	,,	42	,,
			Total in Volume I		. . .		393	

VOLUME II.

Indiction I	. .	597–598	=	36 letters.
,, II	. .	598–599	=	95 ,,
,, III	. .	599–600	=	21 ,,
,, IV	. .	600–601	=	56 ,,
,, V	. .	601–602	=	18 ,,
,, VI	. .	602–603	=	50 ,,
,, VII	. .	603–604	=	17 ,,

Total in Volume II . . . 293

686

(The list from which the above table has been formed, and which is one of the most important factors in determining the dates of the letters, is to be found on pp. 462–464 of the article in the *Neues Archiv.*)

Some of the letters included in this list are put by the Benedictine editors into their Appendix; and one or two trifling adjustments, which need not be particularized here, have to be made in order to reconcile the above number 686 with the 679 numbered letters which are included in the Benedictine edition.

II. The Two Hundred Letters (C). To this second source of Gregorian Epistles, consisting of exactly 200 letters, Ewald gives the symbol C. (CC = 200.)

Of these 200 letters, 56 are possessed in common by C and R. Only 144 therefore remain which are peculiar to C.

This collection is generally found in combination with that

have respectively entered with other fragments of the great original collection.

next to be mentioned (P), but there are some fine MSS. which contain P without C, and a careful examination of the question leaves us without doubt that the two collections were, in their origin, distinct.

One peculiarity of C is its singularly unchronological character. Only one letter, the twenty-fifth in the collection[1], bears a date (Mense Maio, Indictione II = May, 599). It contains no other reference to month or year of Indiction, and had therefore already, in the twelfth century, earned the name of 'the Indictionless Register.'

But in age the collection C (which on this point must be spoken of in conjunction with P) is certainly not inferior to R: perhaps it is even older, anterior that is to the end of the eighth century[2]. It was evidently this collection, which he calls Liber Epistolaris, that Alcuin consulted when he wanted to find a certain well-known letter to Leander of Seville, and when he could not find it here he was disposed to give up his belief in its genuineness. Had he been able to consult the Hadrianic Register, his doubts would have been set at rest, for it appears there (and figures as I. 43 in the Benedictine edition).

It is from the manner in which the Milanese codification has interpolated these dateless letters into the last six books of R that almost all the confusion has arisen. This interpolation has added—

36	letters to the	IInd Indiction—	598–599
36	„ „	IIIrd „	599–600
24		IVth	600–601
39		Vth	601–602
6		VIth	602–603
3		VIIth	603–604
144			

that is to say, it has sprinkled the majority of the letters nearly equally over the four books from September 1, 598 to August 31, 602.

This interpolation which seems to have been made purely at haphazard, led to some such obviously erroneous results that the Benedictine editors took some timid steps towards its

[1] X. 44 in the Benedictine edition.

[2] A MS. of C + P in the Cathedral Library at Cologne (Codex Coloniensis), the work of a scribe of the eighth century, is in Ewald's opinion by far the finest and most trustworthy of all the MSS. of Gregory's letters.

NOTE F. rectification. They assign 38 of the letters peculiar to C to the IInd Indiction, 37 to the IIIrd, 22 to the IVth, and 35 to the Vth: scattering the remaining 12 over five other years.

All this, however, is, as has been said, purely haphazard work, and the whole method of procedure is discredited by Ewald's great discovery that all the 200 letters in C, with one unaccountable exception[1], really belong to the IInd Indiction, and that C is therefore in fact an extract from the original Register for the year 598–599.

It would not be possible here to do any justice to the long and laborious process by which, as I must think, Ewald proves this proposition, a proposition which (with Weise) I was disposed to resist to the utmost of my power, since it has the effect of allotting 240 out of the 851 letters of Gregory all to one year. But the *a priori* probability of it will be seen when the reader compares the two following lists, which in themselves will be found useful by a student of the Gregorian Epistles.

List of letters common to C and R arranged in the order of the Benedictine edition:—

A.D. 592–3.	XIth	Indiction,	III. 11. 37. 64	= 3
„ 594–5.	XIIIth	„	V. 46	= 1
„ 595–6.	XIVth	„	VI. 34	= 1
„ 598–9.	IInd	„	IX. 1. 6. 8. 13–17. 24. 25. 27–31. 34. 36. 37. 47–49. 52. 60. 63. 64. 70. 74–76. 78. 81. 84. 85. 87. 88. 91. 92. 97. 106–112. 115. 116. 121. 122. 125	= 50
„ 599-600.	IIIrd	Indiction,	X. 42	= 1
				56

Here we see that where we are able to check the arrangements by that which we surely know, from the fact of the letters being found in the dated R collection, as well as in the dateless C, 50 out of 56 letters, by the confession of the Benedictine editors themselves, belong to the IInd Indiction. And if we examine a little further we find that of the remaining six letters,

[1] III. 11 in the Benedictine edition.

all with the single exception of III. 11 (an admitted interloper) are by R itself assigned to the same IInd Indiction, and have been for no sufficient reason placed by the Milanese codification and the Benedictine edition in other years.

Let us now look at the following—

List of the letters peculiar to C arranged in the order of the Benedictine edition (a very different one from the order of C itself):—

	Indiction.		
A.D. 590–591.	IX.	I. 85	= 1
" 594–595.	XIII.	V. 45. 47	= 2
" 596–597.	XV.	VII. 45	= 1
" 597–598.	I.	VIII. 17. 19. 32	= 3
" 598–599.	II.	IX. 2. 5. 18–23. 26. 32. 40. 42–45. 50. 51. 54–56. 62. 66. 71. 73. 82. 83. 89. 90. 93. 94. 101. 102. 104. 117–120. 124	= 38
" 599–600.	III.	X. 2. 3. 5–7. 9. 12–15. 20. 25. 26. 28. 30. 32. 33. 40. 41. 43. 44. 46–48. 50. 52–60. 64. 66. 67	= 37
" 600–601.	IV.	XI. 6. 7. 9–11. 17–21. 23. 24. 38. 39. 41–43. 48. 49. 70. 73. 75	= 22
" 601–602.	V.	XII. 2–6. 9–11. 13–23. 25–27. 34–37. 39–46. 49	= 35
" 602–603.	VI.	XIII. 24. 25. 43. 47	= 4
" 603–604.	VII.	XIV. 15	= 1
			144

Here it will be seen that even the Benedictine editors refer all the letters but twelve to the years between 598 and 602; but we may go further than this. There is no internal evidence which requires us to place these twelve in the books to which the editors have assigned them. Comparing this list of letters peculiar to C with the previous list of letters common to C and R, we see at once the improbability that the former should belong to four (or rather ten) years, while the latter (with which

NOTE F. they are promiscuously blended) all[1] belong to one, namely, the IInd Indiction. A strong probability is thus raised that the whole of C is really an extract from the great registers for that year: and this probability is, I think it may be said, converted into certainty by the extremely minute analysis to which Ewald subjects the two lists C and R in the fifth chapter of his essay[2]. It is a triumphant vindication of his method that the one solitary date in the whole of C, 'xxv. Mense Maio Indict. II. Gregorius Venantio Episcopo Lunensi,' comes, on Ewald's principles of reconstruction, exactly where it ought to come: that is to say that the 25th C letter (X. 44 in the Benedictine edition) ought to come at the beginning of the month of May, 599.

The reassertion of the true character of the C collection, and the restoration of the letters contained in it to their right place, was well worth all the labour which Ewald had bestowed upon it, since without it a true chronological arrangement of the Gregorian Epistles was impossible. But it cannot be said that these letters are in themselves of any especial interest, except that which the Benedictines make I. 85, a letter of introduction for Droctulf to Gennadius the Patrician of Africa, and IX. 42, 43, the two very interesting and important letters which the Pope addressed to Agilulf and Theudelinda in connection with the conclusion of the great peace. Many of the other letters are connected with the internal affairs of the dioceses of Campania and Sicily; and though they throw some valuable light on the social and religious condition of Italy, they can hardly be considered of great political importance.

We now come to—

III. The Collectio Pauli (P), containing 53 letters, of which only 21 are peculiar to P, the remaining 32 being also found in R.

The reason for the name given to this collection is that in one MS. (Codex S. Germani), dating from the eighth century, there was to be found a short preface addressed by a certain Paulus to his dearest brother and lord Adalard [abbot of Corbie], apologizing for having failed to visit him in the preceding summer, and sending him the desired letters of Gregory, of which, however,

[1] With the single exception of III. 11.

[2] pp. 522–531. See also pp. 573–580.

he regrets that he has only been able to correct 34 to his satisfaction. Sickness, poverty, the absence of his amanuensis (*clericulus*) have prevented him from doing more. NOTE F.

Who this Paulus was is by no means clear. Naturally our minds recur to the great Lombard historian and biographer of Gregory: but if this be the man, it is singular that none of the three letters quoted in his history (IX. 42, 43 and XII. 21) should be found in this collection, but only in C. On the whole, as Paulus was a very common name among ecclesiastics, it is safer to leave this point undecided.

It will be observed that I have said that the prefatory note *was* to be found in the Codex S. Germani. That MS. was much relied upon by the Benedictine editors, who have given us many valuable notices of its readings; but unfortunately it was stolen during the troubles of the French Revolution, and has never since reappeared.

The following are the lists of the letters peculiar to P and common to P and R (using here, as always, the Benedictine numbering):—

Letters peculiar to P.				Letters common to P and R.		
A.D.	Indiction.	Book.		Book.		Total.
590–1.	IX.	I. 10	= 1	. . . .		1
591–2.	X.	II. 3. 4. 5. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 34. 53	= 10	II. 33. 36. 37. 41	= 4	14
593–4.	XII.	IV. 47	= 1	. . . .		1
594–5.	XIII.	V. 16. 30. 31. 32. 37	= 5	V. 10. 18. 21. 23. 39. 41. 42. 43. 53. 54. 55. 57. 58	= 13	18
598–9.	II.	IX. 41	= 1	IX. 52	= 1	2
600–1.	IV.	XI. 1. 14. 65	= 3	XI. 2. 12. 13. 28. 45. 55. 56. 59. 62. 63. 66. 67. 69. 71	= 14	17
			21		32	53

It will be seen from these lists that, according to the Benedictine arrangement, the great majority of the letters in P belong to the Xth, XIIIth, and IVth Indictions (591–2, 594–5, and 600–1), and Ewald shows that the apparent exceptions have been either misplaced by the Benedictines, or are probably interpolations into the original collection; in short, that we

NOTE F. may safely treat P as a series of extracts from the above-named three years of the Gregorian Register.

On what principle the collection was made it is impossible to say: but the letters in P are on the whole much richer in political interest than those in C, and there seems to be an especial reference in the collector's mind to the affairs of the Gaulish Churches and the relations of the Pope to the Frankish kings.

Ewald devotes many pages to the discussion of the dates to be found in the 'Collectio Pauli,' a very abstruse and difficult subject. In some MSS. the letters have been dated at the beginning; in others at the end; and the vacillation between the two systems has led the scribes into many perplexities. Ewald comes to the conclusion that upon the whole the MSS. which insert the date in black ink at the end of the letter are more to be relied upon than those which insert it in the beginning in red ink as part of the title of the letter.

Incidentally he touches on an interesting question, why in these dates we sometimes find the old Roman notation by Kalends, Nones, and Ides, and sometimes our present custom of numbering the days of the month continuously. It is clear that Gregory himself used both methods, and that the modern plan, which had not gained full ascendency in his day, gradually after his death became more usual. If he was not the actual introducer of the custom, he seems at any rate to have helped powerfully towards rendering it popular. (And thus we may observe, the First Gregory as well as the Thirteenth had some claim to be considered a Reformer of the Kalendar.) Mommsen makes the interesting suggestion that the custom of numbering the days of the month continuously, originated in Syria, and spread from that country by way of Greece to Italy.

I have now sufficiently indicated the general principles on which the rearrangement of the Gregorian letters in the new edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* will be based. Something must still be left to conjecture as to the consolidation of the three collections; and I am not sure that if once the old order had to be departed from, it would not have been better to give us each of the three collections R, C, and P separately, so that students might have used their own judgment as to their combination one with the other: but it cannot be doubted

that we shall have here in the main a chronological series of the letters of the great Pontiff and a scientific basis for the study of a period which was one of the great turning-points in the history of Europe. NOTE F.

(As there is no proper Index or Table of Contents attached to Ewald's article in the third volume of the *Neues Archiv*, the student may be helped by the following references):—



CHAPTER VIII.

GREGORY AND THE LOMBARDS, 590–595.

Authorities.

Sources:—

PAULUS DIACONUS, Hist. Lang. Book IV, and GREGORII EPISTOLAE. Life of Gregory, by PAULUS DIACONUS. Continuation of PROSPER (Codex Havniensis).

Guides:—

Weise (Italien und die Langobardenherrscher, Sect. vi–vii) disentangles the difficult chronology of this period with considerable success.

Crivellucci's papers (Chiesa e Impero nella Politica verso i Longobardi) in Studii Storici, 1892, are also very helpful.

FROM the deeds of the great founder of the mediaeval Papacy we must turn to follow for a little while the far humbler fortunes of the Lombard king.

Agilulf's negotiations for peace with the Franks.

Mission of Bishop Agnellus.

Immediately on his elevation to the throne, Agilulf turned his attention to that which was the most pressing necessity of the Lombard state, the conclusion of peace with the Franks. Two missions[1] were despatched with this object to the Austrasian court, both going from the Duchy of Trient, and both doubtless proceeding by the pass of the Brenner, through what had once been the Roman province of Rhaetia and Vindelicia. Agnellus, bishop of Trient, went to ne-

[1] Paulus, iii. 35 and iv. 1. Weise (p. 149) thinks the two missions were virtually one, but I doubt this.

gotiate for the return of the prisoners whom the Franks had carried off from his diocese in the cruel raid of the previous year. It seems doubtful whether complete success crowned his efforts, but he had at least the joy of bringing back to their homes many captives whom the Austrasian queen-mother had herself redeemed from bondage. In the difficult task of assaying the strangely compounded character of Brunichildis, let at least this good deed be remembered to her credit.

Mission of Duke Euin.

The other, a more directly political mission, was entrusted to Euin, duke of Trient, and brother-in-law of Queen Theudelinda. We have no details as to his journey; we are only told[1] that 'he went to Gaul to obtain peace, and having obtained it, returned home.' The Austrasian king had perhaps perceived by this time that he could not conquer, could only ravage, Italy, and that, in unduly weakening the Lombards, he was but playing the game of the Emperor. The hostility of Neustria was becoming more dangerous, as the son of Fredegundis was growing out of infancy into boyhood[2]. The old actors, too, were soon to pass away from the scene. The easy-tempered Guntram of Burgundy died early in 593. Childebert, who united that kingdom to his paternal inheritance of Austrasia, enjoyed his wide-reaching sway but for three years, and died in 596, having only attained his twenty-sixth year. His sons, children of nine and ten years old, succeeded him, Theodoric in Burgundy, and Theudebert in Austrasia. There were thus, now,

Frankish affairs. Death of Guntram and Childebert.

[1] By Paulus, H. L. iv. i.

[2] In the year 591, according to Paulus, there was a battle between Childebert and Chlotochar, in which 30,000 men were slain.

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minors on all the three Frankish thrones. Brunichildis hoped to govern two kingdoms as regent in her grandsons' names, but her hope was disappointed. Expelled from Austrasia, she took refuge in Burgundy, and sought to avenge herself by Burgundian arms on the Austrasian rebels. Civil war and domestic confusion became the normal condition of Gaul, and for the twenty-five years during which Agilulf was consolidating the Lombard throne, the Frankish monarchy was in a state of partial eclipse. These were, perhaps, some of the causes of the change which now came over the relations of the two peoples. The change itself is undoubted; with the accession of Agilulf the hostilities between Frank and Lombard—so irritating to the student by their want of plan, and so lamentable for the sufferers by their purposeless barbarity—cease, and for many generations Italy is left to work out her own destinies, undisturbed by any interference on the side of Gaul.

Rebellious Dukes.

The next duty of Agilulf was to assert his royal authority against the subject dukes, who could look back to a still recent time when they had no king over them, and some of whom had seen with anger the elevation of a Thuringian stranger over their heads by a woman's favour.

Mimulf, duke of St. Julian's island.

One of these was Mimulf, who in the recent campaign had traitorously surrendered himself to the Frankish dukes. His stronghold was the island of St. Julian in the Lake of Orta[1]. Notwithstanding his watery defence he was captured and slain. Ulfari,

[1] Westward of Lago Maggiore. The island is now called S. Giulio (not Giuliano). These Lake-citadels remind us of the prehistoric Lake-dwellers of Switzerland and Denmark.

duke of Treviso, who had also rebelled (perhaps had gone over to his Imperial neighbours), was besieged and taken prisoner.

Ulfari, duke of Treviso.

Gaidulf, duke of Bergamo.

The most powerful and the most obstinate of all the rebel nobles was Gaidulf[1], duke of Bergamo. By right of his important duchy, possibly also by right of some relationship with Authari of Bergamo, Gaidulf had probably himself aspired to the kingdom[2]. Agilulf, however, marched against him, received his submission, and forced him to give hostages for his future fidelity. How long he remained loyal we know not; but next time that he broke out into rebellion we find him not behind the walls of Bergamo, but in that cave of Adullam, the island in the Lake of Como. This island, after the defeat of the Byzantine general Francio[3], had apparently been annexed to the territory of Bergamo, and the rich treasure found there had been entrusted to Gaidulf's keeping[4]. The island was now successfully attacked, Gaidulf's soldiers expelled, and the treasure carried off to safer keeping at Pavia. Gaidulf fled to Bergamo, was there taken prisoner by Agilulf, a second time pardoned and a second time listened to when he repeated his promises of loyalty. We shall see at a future time how these promises were kept.

These domestic disturbances being quelled, Agilulf, doubtless at the earliest moment of leisure, turned his

[1] The form Gandulf seems to have no MS. authority.

[2] This is the conjecture of Lupi (i. 178 and 192), and in spite of the depreciatory remarks of Pabst (p. 427, n. 3), it seems a probable one.

[3] See p. 246.

[4] This deposit confirms Lupi's view of a close connection between Gaidulf and Authari.

Geographical conditions of the struggle with the Empire.

thoughts towards the long struggle with the Empire; a struggle which was now passing into a chronic stage and involving a second generation of combatants. Rome, Ravenna, Naples, Genoa; these four cities were still in the Empire's grasp, and so long as these cities and the territories round them were in hostile hands, could any king of the Lombards feel that his possession of the remaining three-fourths of Italy was secure? Rome and Ravenna especially, the old and the new capitals of Emperors, were always alluring and always defying the Lombard attack. The Pope at Rome, the Exarch at Ravenna, held perilous communication with one another by the long nerve-filament of the Flaminian Way. Might it not be possible for the Lombard marauders to destroy that communication, to isolate the two capitals from one another and then to conquer them in detail? It seemed doubtless feasible enough to a Lombard duke; but it was never wholly done, and even its partial accomplishment was only attained towards the very end of the Lombard domination. Instead of the Lombard king being able to separate Rome from Ravenna, the *Via Flaminia* practically separated him from his fellow-countrymen in the South. The duchies of Spoleto and Benevento (whose histories will be hereafter described more in detail) became more and more detached from the great body of the monarchy, whose heart was in Pavia; and the Empire, though powerless to expel the Lombards from Italy, was powerful to divide and to scatter them.

The impression made by the events which we are now considering, on the political condition of Italy was deep and long-enduring. In our own day a new generation is arising which is accustomed to the

appearance of United Italy on the map; but all men of middle age remember how the maps of their boyhood showed a great irregularly-shaped region called 'The States of the Church,' reaching across the waist of Italy, from the north-east to the south-west: almost within sight of Venice, where it touched the Adriatic, almost within sight of Naples, where it touched the open Mediterranean. That strange rhomboidal figure, which once seemed to present so hopeless a barrier to the unity of Italy, was a direct survival from the age when Rome and Ravenna were the two great strongholds of the Empire in the Italian peninsula, and when the Flaminian Way was the all-important line of communication between the city of the Pope and the city of the Exarch.

Rome menaced by the Duke of Spoleto.

There was, however, one station on the Flaminian Way which had been occupied by the invaders, and which a Lombard duke had made the seat of his power. This was Spoletium, now Spoleto, almost exactly half-way between the Tyrrhene Sea and the Adriatic[1]. Here Farwald had reigned, and here in 591 *Ariulf* was reigning, drawing ever nearer and nearer to Rome, so that it seemed, in those early days of Gregory's pontificate, as if the great prize of the World-City's capture might after all fall into the hands, not even of a king, but of a mere duke of the Lombards. To Gregory himself, and all true Roman hearts within the City, the outlook must have seemed indeed a dreary one. As far as they were concerned, Roman territory, once deemed world-

[1] To avoid repetition I may refer to chapters x. and xxiv. of the fifth book of this history for a description of the stages along the *Via Flaminia*.

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wide[1], had shrunk into limits little wider than those of the early days of the Republic. Latium with a corner of Etruria and a few square miles of Sabine territory—this was the *Ducatus Romae*: this was all the territory in which the citizens could move about, and even then only with a precarious and menaced freedom. As they looked forth from the walls of their City, they knew that the *Ducatus Romae* was almost bounded by the visible horizon. North-westward the Cassian Road led up to the dark brow of the Ciminian Mount. Just over the shoulder of that forest-crowned hill was Viterbium, and in Viterbium reigned a Lombard duke. On the northern horizon were the Sabine hills, at whose foot lay Interamna[2] with its waterfalls, and Interamna was an outpost of Lombard Spoletium. Far nearer and even within sight of Rome were the towers of Tibur and Praeneste[3], high up on their hills against the sunrise; and though these towns were still Roman, they were now frontier towns, looking forth on Lombard territory. It was only towards the south-east, where stretched the old Volscian land, and towards the west, where rolled the friendly sea, that the Roman could gaze without feeling that he was gazing towards the near dominions of a foe.

Anxious letters.

The letters of Gregory, in the early years of his pontificate, give us a vivid picture of his anxieties and distresses, hemmed in as he was within such narrow bounds, daily hearing of, and all but seeing, the

[1] 'Quicunque mundo terminus obstitit,
Hunc tangat armis, visere gestiens
Qua parte debacchentur ignes,
Qua nebulae pluviique rores.'
Horace, Ode iii. 3. 53–56.

[2] Terni.

[3] Tivoli and Palestrina.

desolation wrought by the invaders. Writing to one of his old friends at Constantinople, the Patrician and Quaestor John, in the beginning of 591 [1], he says, 'You have intended to do me a kindness [in assisting my elevation to the papacy], and may God repay you for your good mind towards me, but you have brought me, the lover of quietness, into a state of continual disquiet. For my sins I find myself bishop, not of the Romans but of the Lombards; men whose promises stab like swords, and whose kindness is bitter punishment. Hither has your patronage led me. But do you, who still have the power, fly from the business of this world, because, as far as I see, the more progress a man makes in this, the more he falls off from the love of God. Moreover, I send you a most sacred key, from the body of the blessed Apostle Peter, Prince of the Apostles, made illustrious by the many miracles performed by its means on the bodies of many sick persons, and enclosing some filings from his chains. Let those chains therefore, which once clasped that holy neck, now be hung round your neck and sanctify it.'

In another letter [2] to the Judicial Assessor [3] Paulus, Gregory begs his correspondent to come and assist in the extreme need of the Roman city, 'because outside the walls we are incessantly molested by the swords of the enemy, and within we are threatened by the yet graver peril of a mutiny of the soldiers.'

Latium ravaged.

The effect of all the ravages, not only of the Lombards during the recent years, but of their predecessors during the two previous centuries, was already seen in reducing the fertile regions of the Campagna to

[1] Ep. i. 31 (30). [2] Ep. i. 3 (3). [3] Scholasticus.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 591. a desert. The two towns of Minturnae and Formiae (both in our own day represented only by ruins) were to be joined under one bishop (the bishop of Formiae), 'because we have learned,' says the Pope, 'that the Church of Minturnae is, owing to the desolate condition of the country, utterly stripped both of clergy and of people[1].'

The ecclesiastical administrator of Campania (Anthemius the subdeacon) was enjoined to prevent the dwellers on the Papal patrimonies, who with their wives were fleeing from barbarian savagery[2], from taking refuge on the Insula Eumorphiana[3], on which was erected an oratory to St. Peter. 'There are other places of refuge in the neighbourhood, and I think it highly inopportune that women should be dwelling on the same island with monks.'

Narni threatened (?). So far, however, up to the end of the first year of Gregory's papacy, the tide of battle had not rolled close up to the walls of Rome. But with September, 591, when his second year of office began, hostilities became more active. The terrible pestilence, from which Pope Pelagius had died[4], was still raging in Italy, and Gregory, writing to the bishop of Narni, exhorts him[5] to turn the panic caused by its ravages in that city to good account spiritually, by labouring

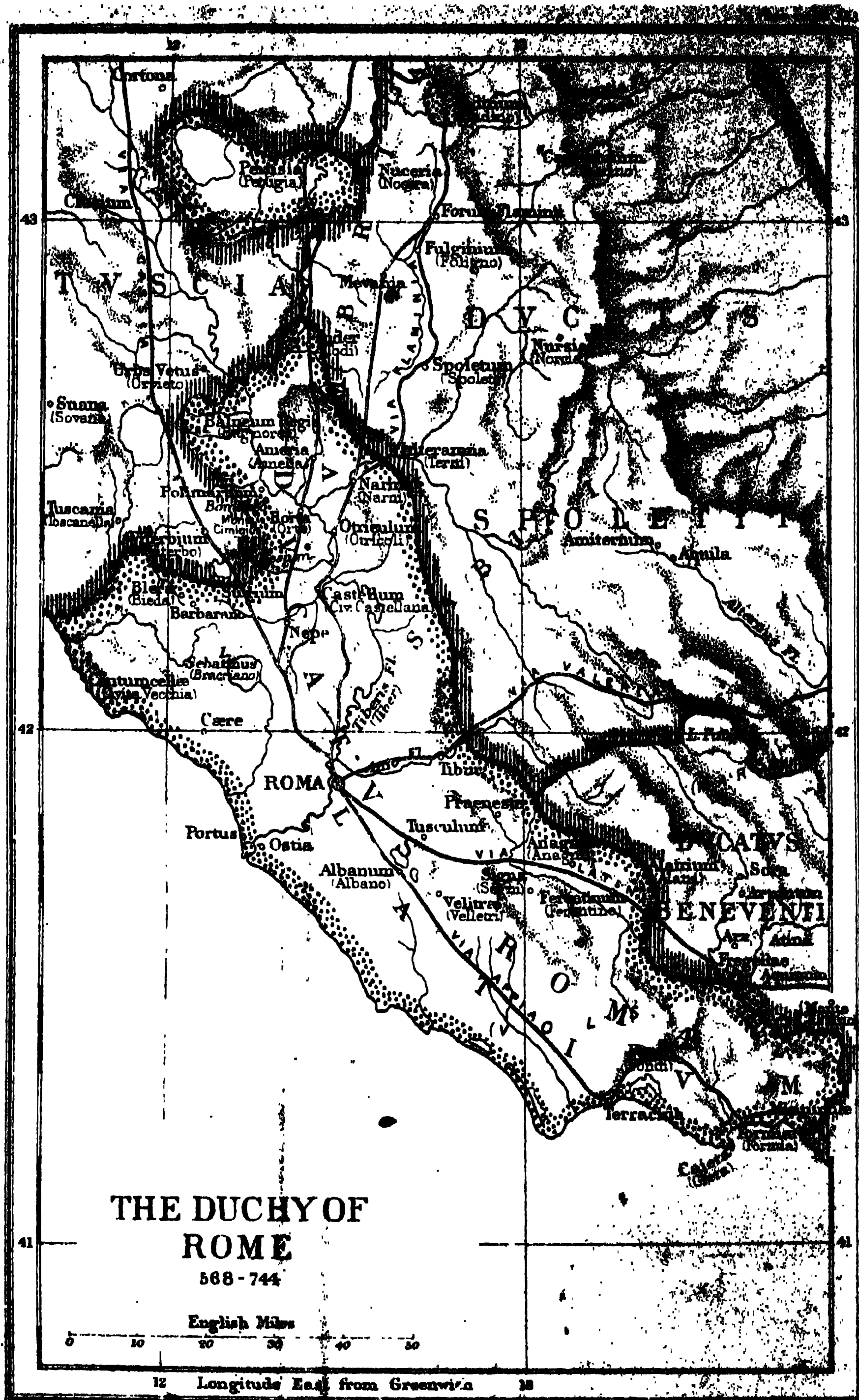
[1] Ep. i. 8 (8).

[2] 'Multos virorum cum mulieribus suis diversorum patrimoniorum illuc pro necessitate feritatis barbaricae refugisse' (Ep. i. 50 (48)).

[3] This is placed by the commentators, but with some hesitation, at or near the island of Ponza, off the coast of Gaeta. I observe near it on the map some minute islands called 'le Formiche' (the ants), which perhaps preserve a remembrance of the name 'Eumorphiana.'

[4] 'Lues inguinaria.'

[5] ii. 2. (4).



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among the Lombards as well as Romans within its walls, and persuading the heathens and the heretics to turn to the true Catholic faith. Narni was emphatically a frontier city, but there is perhaps room for a doubt whether the Lombards here referred to were conquerors who had carried the city by a surprise, or the remnant of some of the Lombard armies, who, under various generals, had deserted to the Empire in recent years[1].

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The next letter, however[2] (written on the twenty-seventh of September, 591), gives no uncertain sound of war. It is addressed to Velox, Master of the Soldiery, stationed probably at Perugia, certainly somewhere on the road between Ravenna and Rome.

Letters to Velox, *Magister Militum.*

'I told your Glory some time ago that I had soldiers ready to come to you at your present quarters: but as your letter informed me that the enemy were assembled and were making inroads in this direction, I decided to keep them back. Now, however, it seems expedient to send some of them to you, praying your Glory to give them suitable exhortations, that they may be ready to undertake the labour which falls upon them. . . . And do you, finding a convenient opportunity, have a conference with our glorious sons, Maurice and Vitalian: and whatever, by God's help, you shall jointly decide on for the benefit of the

[1] This last is Troya's theory (iv. 1. 248), and I confess that the peaceful phrase employed by Gregory, 'Langobardorum sive Romanorum qui in eodem loco *degunt*,' seems to me rather to favour it. [Crivellucci (Studi storici, v. 125) says that no such explanation is necessary. The *diocese* of Narnia would include some places such as Interamna across the Lombard frontier and it would be among these that the bishop was exhorted to labour.]

[2] ii. 3 (7).

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 591. Republic, that do. . . . And if you shall discover that the unutterable Ariulf[1] is breaking forth either towards Ravenna or in our direction, do you fall upon his rear and exert yourselves as becomes brave men, that so, by God's help, the high opinion which the Republic already holds of you may be raised yet higher by your glorious labours.'

Danger from Etruria. The autumn and the winter of 591 passed away, apparently, without bringing the dreaded invasion. But the Pontiff was looking anxiously towards his northern frontier, desiring to strengthen himself against attack from the side of Tuscany. Here, about thirty miles from Rome, south of the Ciminian mountain, stood the two little towns of Sutrium and Nepe. These towns, which, in the infancy of the Republic, had been won for her by the valour of Camillus, were now part of her northern barrier against invasion. Sutrium and Nepe under Maurice were thus what the Firths of Forth and Clyde had been under Antoninus. The Pope, who as one grasping the helm of the State at a moment of extreme peril spoke with all the authority of a king, addressed a short letter 'to the clergy, council, and commonalty dwelling at Nepe[2].'

'To the *clarissimus* Leontius, bearer of these presents, we have entrusted the care and responsibility for your city, that by his vigilance in all things he may make such arrangements as shall be for your advantage and that of the Republic. We therefore admonish you by these presents to render to him in

[1] 'Et si huc vel ad Ravennates partes *nec dicendum Ariulphum* cognoveritis excurrere.'

[2] 'Clero ordini et plebi consistenti Nepe,' ii. 11 (14).

all things due obedience, that none may dare to despise him, when he is toiling for your benefit. Whosoever shall resist his lawful demands will be deemed to rebel against us; and whosoever listens to him listens to us. If any should venture—which we do not expect—after this admonition to think that he may treat Leontius with contempt, let him clearly understand that he does so at his peril.'

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Increased temporal power of the Pope.

It is easy to see from one short letter like this how the distance from the seat of Empire, the interruption of communication with Ravenna, the lordship of the vast Patrimony of St. Peter, were all tending to turn the Pope, with his will or against his will, into a temporal sovereign. Not only would Pope Symmachus not have so written under the strong rule of Theodoric, but under the weakest of the phantom emperors who flitted across the stage in the middle of the fifth century, it is inconceivable that such a letter could have been addressed even by the mighty Pope Leo to the inhabitants of the most insignificant village in the Campagna.

Gregory's letter to Maurice and Vitalian, 592.

As the spring drew on, Ariulf again showed unwelcome signs of life. In April, Gregory, writing to the bishop of Ravenna, asked him to examine into the case of certain bishops in the obedience of the Roman see, 'who cannot come hither by reason of the interposition of the enemy.' Then, in June[1], we find Gregory writing as follows to the Masters of the Soldiery, Maurice and Vitalian, who, notwithstanding their high official titles, seem to have been really

[1] Ewald apparently assigns this letter to July, but his note shows that he with Weise (p. 161, n. 105) considers June the more probable date.

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his generals, responsible to him and not to the Exarch[1].

'The magnificent Aldio, after the arrival of your messengers, wrote to us that Ariulf was now very near, and we feared lest the soldiers who are being despatched by you should fall into his hands. But, by God's help, our son, the glorious Master of the Soldiery[2], has made his preparations to meet him. And let your Glories also, if the enemy should march hither, fall upon his rear and, with God's help, do what you can according to your wonted valour. For we trust in the power of Almighty God and of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, on whose natal day they hope to shed our blood, that they will find him too strong for them, and that immediately[3].'

Letter of Ariulf as to the surrender of Suana.

Soon after the despatch of this letter Vitalian came to Rome, had a personal interview with the Pope, and carried back his commands, both oral and written,

[1] Ep. ii. 29 (32).

[2] This is thought to be Castus, successor of Velox, who held the office of Magister Militum under the Exarch in 591.

[3] 'Speramus enim in omnipotentis Dei virtutem et in ipsius beati Petri Principis Apostolorum in cujus natale sanguina (*sic*) effundi desiderant quia ipsi sibi contrarium sine mora invenient.' There has been much discussion as to the meaning of this *dies natalis* of Peter; Troya arguing for the *natalis Cathedrae S. Petri*, which was celebrated in January; but the prevailing opinion is that Gregory means the day of the *martyrdom* of St. Peter (and St. Paul), which was celebrated on the 29th of June. Taken by itself the letter looks like the counterpart of that addressed to Velox in September, 591 (see p. 353), and I still think that the evidence adduced by Ewald (Neues Archiv, iii. 585) is more in favour of that date than any other; but it is difficult to make it fit with even the January date of the *dies natalis Petri*. As this is one of what Ewald calls the P letters, and undated, it is more difficult to assign its date accurately than it would be if it belonged to R.

to his comrades. Then another person appeared upon the scene—a messenger from the Lombard host, bearing a letter written by Ariulf himself[1], and dated the 11th of June[2]. In this letter he mentioned, probably by way of boast, and in order to show how closely he was drawing his net round the City of Rome, that the inhabitants of Suana had promised to surrender to him. Suana, now the miserable little village of Sovana in the Etruscan Maremma, was a strongly fortified town as late as the thirteenth century, though its chief celebrity was derived from the fact that there was born the only other Pope[3] who could for a moment contest with the first of the name the title of Gregory the Great. In the year 592 it can only have been an outlying fortress of the Empire, being fully forty miles beyond the frontier of the *Ducatus Romae*, and the marvel is that it should have resisted the Lombard attack so long.

With the despatch[4] which the Pope now sent to the two generals, Maurice and Vitalian, he enclosed the letter of Ariulf, and continued, 'Do you therefore carefully read this letter, and see if the citizens of Suana have persevered in the faith which they promised to the Republic. Take from them important hostages, the possession of whom may give you confi-

[1] Apparently, then, Ariulf was able to write. The letter is not preserved.

[2] The Benedictine edition reads 'Januarii' for 'Junii,' but the long controversy raised by this date (for which see Weise, pp. 157–161) is settled by Ewald's emphatic statement, '*Januarii* sine causâ scripserunt editores.' It is noteworthy that the Pope says, 'Undecimo die mensis Junii,' abandoning here the classical notation by Kalends, Nones, and Ides.

[3] Gregory VII.

[4] Ep. ii. 30 (33).

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dence in the fulfilment of their promises; and bind them moreover with fresh oaths, returning to them that which you have already taken by way of pledge[1], and healing their spirits by your speeches.'

So far had spoken the monarch and the statesman; but then came in the churchman's fear of doing anything that might put the souls of his flock in jeopardy. If the Suanese had sworn, even to the hurt of the State, they must not be encouraged to break their oaths. 'But if you shall clearly ascertain that they have treated with Ariulf for their city, or even have given him hostages with that intent—a point as to which his enclosed letter leaves us in doubt—then give the whole matter your most careful consideration, that neither your souls nor ours may come under any burden by reason of [violated] oaths. Accomplish then whatsoever you may deem advantageous to the Republic. Let your Glories so act that on the one hand we give no occasion for blame to our adversaries [at the Imperial Court], nor on the other hand neglect God while looking to the welfare of the State. Be careful, my glorious sons, because, as far as I can ascertain, Ariulf has collected his hostile forces, and he is said to be now quartered at Nardiae[2], and if, through God's anger against him,

[1] 'Reddentes eis quod loco pignoris sustulistis.' It is difficult to understand why the generals should be taking fresh hostages with one hand, and restoring pledges with the other; but that seems the necessary rendering of the text.

[2] 'Et in Nardias dicitur resideri.' Ewald thinks this word Nardiae may mean some plain by the river Nar, but he is not wholly averse to changing Nardias into *Narnias*, and understanding it of the frontier city Narni. To me all the evidence, even as quoted by Ewald, seems contrary to the theory that

he should choose to direct his course hither, do you, by the Lord's help, lay waste his own territory[1], or at least let those whom you send carefully post their sentinels[2] lest some serious mishap should befall you.'

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How the affair of Suana ended we are not informed, but the most probable conjecture is that Ariulf's was no vain boast, and that the Etrurian outpost did at this time fall into the hands of the Lombards.

Gregory provides for the defence of Naples.

All round the horizon the sky seemed darkening. Arichis, duke of Beneventum, was co-operating with his countryman Ariulf and pressing hard on Naples[3]. As the Pope could not stir up the Exarch to provide for the defence of that important city by sending an Imperial duke with sufficient reinforcements, he took upon himself to send the 'magnificent' tribune, Constantius, to bear military rule in the city, and wrote a letter[4] ordering all the soldiers quartered there to render him due obedience. What troubled him most was the apparent indifference of the Exarch, Romanus, who seemed heedless to all the misery which the fury of Ariulf and his Lombards was bringing on the peasants of Campania. On behalf of Romanus it may be urged that the one all-important matter was to keep the communications open between Rome and Ravenna, and that every soldier who could

Narni at this time passed even temporarily into the hands of the Lombards.

[1] 'Loca ipsius, quantum vos Dominus adjuvaverit, depraedate.'

[2] 'Sculcas.' Ewald quotes Theophylact. vi. 9 (describing a campaign against the Gepidae), Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι . . . τῆς διαφρουρᾶς κατημέλησαν ἣν σκούλκαν συνηθὲς τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ Ῥωμαίοις ἀποκαλεῖν.

[3] Ep. ii. 46 (45).

[4] Ep. ii. 31 (34).

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Estrangement between the Pope and the Exarch.

be spared was needed for the defence of Perugia, which had become the vital point in these communications. But, whether justly or unjustly, Gregory was now thoroughly out of temper with Romanus, and the project, the momentous project, of forming a separate peace with Ariulf and cultivating the friendship of Spoleto, since Ravenna was so callous and unjust, was already taking shape in the Pope's mind. It was with such thoughts stirring in his soul that he wrote to John, bishop of Ravenna, probably in the month of July, 592[1].

Letter to the bishop of Ravenna.

'Set it not down to indolence but to ill-health that I have made such scant reply to the numerous letters of your Blessedness. For my sins, when Ariulf came [close up] to the City of Rome, slaying some of our people and mutilating others, I was smitten with such sadness that I suffered from an attack of colic. Much did I marvel what could be the reason why the well-known solicitude of your Holiness on our behalf did not profit this City nor relieve my necessities. But when I got your letters which went astray[2], I recognised that you do indeed act zealously for me, but that you have to deal with a man with whom such zeal is of no avail. It must be, therefore, to punish me for my sins that he who is now concerned[3] only pretends to fight against our enemies, and at the same time forbids us to make peace, although now we should be quite unable to do so even if we wished it, because Ariulf, having with him the army of Auctarit and Nordulf[4], claims that gratuities for them shall be

[1] Ep. ii. 46 (45).

[2] 'Scriptis vestris discurrentibus' (?).

[3] The Exarch.

[4] Evidently two Lombard generals, of whom we know nothing.

handed over to him[1] before he will condescend to say anything about peace.' BOOK VI. CH. 8.

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Gregory then goes on to speak about the schismatical bishops of Istria and the Three Chapters Controversy, and continues, 'Be assured that I shall not cease to write to our most serene lords [the Emperor and his son] on that matter with perfect freedom and earnestness. But you need not be distressed by the animosity of the aforesaid most excellent Patrician Romanus [against me], because as far as I am superior to him in place and dignity, with so much the more patience and gravity I ought to bear his impertinence[2].

'If, however, there is any chance of getting a hearing, let your Brotherhood deal with him, so that we may make peace with Ariulf, should there be any hope, however faint, of accomplishing that result. The regular soldiery, as he himself knows, have been removed from Rome. Only the Theodosians remain, and as they have not received their donative, they will scarce consent to do sentry duty on the walls[3].

else. Auctarit's name is curiously like that of the deceased Lombard king. Nordulf must not be confounded with the Imperial general, Nordulf the Patrician. See Troya, iv. 1. 132.

[1] 'Eorum sibi dari precaria desiderat.'

[2] 'Movere autem vos non debet praefati excellentissimi viri Romani Patricii animositas, quia nos *quantum eum loco et ordine praeimus*, tantum, si qua sunt ejus levia tolerare mature et graviter debemus.'

[3] 'Miles de Romana urbe tultus est, sicut ipse novit. Theodosiaci vero, qui hic remanserunt, rogam non accipientes vix ad murorum quidem custodiam se accommodant.' The *Theodosiaci*, named probably after the emperor's son Theodosius, must be a corps of irregular troops, as they are contrasted with *miles*. A note on the margin of one of the MSS. says, '*roga* [...] militibus super stipendia dari solebat.'



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Since the City is thus bereft of all its defenders, if it have not peace, how shall it continue to exist?

'As to the city of Naples, you must press the most excellent Exarch hard. For Arichis[1], as we have heard, has joined himself to Ariulf, and in violation of his promise has gone against the Republic. He is plotting deeply against that city, and if a duke be not speedily sent to its relief, it may be absolutely given up for lost.

'As for your suggestion about sending alms to the burnt city of Severus the schismatic[2], your Brotherhood would not have made it if you had known what bribes he has been sending to the palace to inflame persons against us. And even had he not been thus active, we must remember that our pity is primarily due to the faithful, and only in the second place to the enemies of the Church. All the more so, as hard by is the city of Fanum[3], many of whose inhabitants have been carried captive, and to which in the past year I wished to send remittances, but could not on account of the interposition of the enemy. It seems to me, therefore, that you ought to send the abbot Claudius thither with a pretty large sum of money, to redeem all such free persons as he may find to be there held in bondage for their ransoms, or to

[1] Duke of Benevento. *Aregis* in the MSS.

[2] The leader of the Istrian schism on the question of the Three Chapters was Severus, bishop of Aquileia; but as it appears from the next sentence that Fanum was 'juxta' the city which has been burnt, it appears to me that we must accept Muratori's view that Severus, bishop of Ancona (see Ep. ix. 16 and 89), is the bishop here alluded to, though we have apparently no other indication of his ever being in schism.

[3] Fanum Fortunae, now Fano on the Adriatic coast.

be still in captivity[1]. Make your mind easy about the sum of money to be transmitted to you [for this purpose], because whatever you decide upon I shall be glad to pay. But if you can convince the most excellent Patrician Romanus that we ought to make peace with Ariulf, I am ready to send you another person with whom these matters of ransom can be better arranged[2].'

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After this letter, the name of Ariulf fades for a time out of Gregory's correspondence. Evidently the stress of war and the fear of the capture of the City were soon lightened, and we may assert with little fear of contradiction that the cause of this change was a separate peace concluded between Rome and Spoleto about the end of July 592. In negotiating this peace, the Papal coffers were probably put under contribution, in order to satisfy the demands of Ariulf, since Gregory himself, in alluding to the transaction three years later, says that the peace was made 'without any cost to the Republic[3].'

Separate peace apparently concluded between the Pope and Ariulf, July, 592.

Having thus carefully traced the course of events

[1] 'Ut liberos quos illic pro pretio in servitio teneri invenerit, vel si qui adhuc sunt captivi, redimat.' As Fanum was apparently still an Imperial city, the meaning of this passage seems to be that some of the citizens, who had been carried captive by the Lombards, had been obliged to borrow money to pay their ransoms, and were now, on account of this loan, in bondage to *other Romans*, not to the Lombards. But there were also some still in the Lombard camp who had not been able to arrange for the payment of their ransoms. Abbot Claudius was to redeem both classes of men.

[2] 'Cum quo mercedis causae melius fiant.' That is, I think, the ransom of the citizens of Fano. But see Troya, iv. 1. 271, for another view of the words.

[3] 'Sine ullo Reipublicae dispendio' (Ep. v. 40).

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Another account of Ariulf's reconciliation.

as revealed to us by the Papal letters we may now listen to a story told by Paulus Diaconus in his life of Gregory [1], in which, though Ariulf's name is not mentioned, the similarity of events is so great that we can hardly doubt that Ariulf is the person alluded to [2].

'There was a certain tyrant who greatly oppressed the Roman Church, troubling its repose by his unbearable importunity, laying waste its possessions, and treating the serfs belonging thereto with the utmost cruelty. For which wrongs the blessed Pope admonished him by means of messengers, but he was made all the more furious by this reproof, and came, mad with rage, to depopulate the City itself. But on his arrival, he was met in conference by the blessed Gregory. His heart was touched by Divine grace, and he perceived that there was so much force in the Pontiff's words that with most humble courtesy he made satisfaction to the pious successor of the Apostles [3], and promised that he would ever after be the subject and devoted servant of the Roman Church. Finally, he being afterwards sick [apparently] unto death, besought the prayers of the venerable Pope, and received for answer that God would grant unto him further space for repentance.'

It seems clear that, as here described, the raging enemy of the Church was converted by this interview, if not into a subject ally, at least into a respectful and courteous antagonist. The moral miracle of Leo I's

[1] Cap. xxvi.

[2] Few of the writers on this subject direct sufficient attention to this strange (and to me inexplicable) omission of Ariulf's name in the narrative of Paulus.

[3] 'Ut cum humillimâ indulgentiâ religioso Apostolico satisfaceret.'

subjugation of Attila was thus repeated after the lapse of a century and a half, by the greatest of his successors. That Ariulf, rough warrior as he might be, was not insensible to influences which may be called religious or superstitious according to the narrator's point of view, is shown by a story told of him by Paulus in the Lombard history[1]. When warring against the Romans at Camerinum (possibly in that very expedition which caused the captivity of the citizens of Fanum[2]), he enquired of his men, after they had gotten the victory, who was that warrior whom he had seen fighting so valiantly. 'There was no braver warrior than yourself,' said his soldiers. 'No, assuredly, there was one better than I, who, whenever one of the opposite party wished to strike me, guarded me with his shield.' Soon after they came near to the basilica[3] in which rests the venerable body of the blessed martyr St. Sabinus; and Ariulf asked, 'Whose is that ample house?' Some Catholics in his suite answered, 'There rests the martyr Sabinus, whose help Christians are wont to invoke when they go forth to war.' Ariulf, who was still a heathen, reasoned, 'How can a dead man give help to the living?' Having so said, he leaped from his horse and went in to view the basilica; and while the others were praying, he strolled round the church admiring the pictures[4] on the walls. As soon as he saw the blessed martyr's portrait, he exclaimed, with an oath, 'That is the face and that is the figure of

Ariulf at Camerinum.

[1] iv. 16.

[2] See p. 362.

[3] 'Prope Spoletium' says Paulus. Is not this a mistake? St. Sabinus was the patron saint of *Camerinum*.

[4] Probably mosaics.

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the man who guarded me in the fight.' Then all understood that Sabinus himself had been Ariulf's defender.

So runs the story in the pages of Ariulf's countryman Paulus. What the Emperor or the Exarch said of such a miraculous interference on behalf of an enemy of the Roman Republic no Byzantine chronicler informs us.

Anger of the Emperor at the tidings of the peace.

The separate peace thus concluded by Gregory with Ariulf aroused great indignation, when the tidings of it reached Ravenna and Constantinople. Though probably a wise and statesmanlike measure, there can be no doubt that—to use a legal phrase—it was quite *ultra vires*, being entirely beyond any legal competency yet possessed by the bishop of Rome in 'the Roman Republic.' An archbishop of Canterbury negotiating for himself a separate peace with Napoleon I, at the time of his meditated Boulogne invasion, or, to take a less improbable contingency—a bishop of Durham making private terms for himself and the territories of St. Cuthbert with the king of Scots, on the eve of the battle of Flodden; these hypothetical cases offer fair analogies to the conduct of Gregory on this occasion, on which he did indeed make a memorable stride towards complete independence. It appears to have been at this time, and was possibly in order to undo Gregory's work, that Romanus at last marched with an army from Ravenna to Rome. It would seem as if the independent action of the Pope accomplished that which his piteous entreaties had failed to effect, in stirring up the Exarch to action. His campaign was evidently a victorious one. The towns of Sutrium, Polimartium, Horta, Tuder, Ameria, Luceoli,

March of Romanus to Rome.

and Perusia[1], were all recovered from the Lombards[2], and the Exarch returned in triumph to Ravenna[3]. BOOK VI. CH. 8. 592.

This expedition of Romanus is usually represented as a mere outbreak of temper on his part, a petulant explosion of wrath on the part of a man 'who could make neither war nor peace,' and who, by this ill-timed display of energy, sacrificed all the fruits of Gregory's diplomacy. It is not clear, however, that we are right in so regarding it. If we look at the map, we shall see that the loss of these places (which had probably all fallen during Ariulf's campaign of 592) fatally jeopardised the line of communication between Rome and Ravenna. Luceoli, Tuder, Ameria, were all important stages on the Via Flaminia, while Sutrium, Polimartium and Horta were towns within the border of the *Ducatus Romae*, as it remained for the next century. Gregory's desire for peace, and his pity for the sufferings of the war-worried *coloni*, were praiseworthy and Christian, but Romanus was justified in thinking that a peace concluded on the basis of the *status quo* in July 592, would leave the Imperial possessions in Italy at the mercy of the barbarians.

Fortunes of Perugia.

The case of Perugia was peculiar. That interesting old Etruscan city, on her high Umbrian hill, held,

[1] Modern names: Sutri, Bomarzo, Orte, Todi, Amelia, Cantiano, Perugia.

[2] Paulus, H. L. iv. 8, following the Liber Pontificalis.

[3] Weise (p. 173) says that Romanus spent the winter of 592 in Rome, where he lived quietly, not exhibiting any games to the people. Weise generally follows the authorities so closely that I am disposed to think he must have some foundation in them for this statement; but I have not been able to find any other than Rubeus' History of Ravenna, iv. 187, as quoted and expanded by Gregorovius, ii. 41, all of which of course is valueless as evidence unless vouched for in some other way.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 592. probably, the true key of the position; but we are, unfortunately, not able fully to follow her varying fortunes. It is now pretty generally agreed that up to the year 592 the city had remained in the uninterrupted possession of the Empire. In that year it was taken, perhaps by Ariulf, perhaps by a Lombard duke named Maurisio, who was entrusted with the government of the city[1]. This man, however, surrendered his post to Romanus, deserted his countrymen, entered the service of the Empire, and, in that capacity, held Perugia for the Exarch in 593. As we shall see, it was almost immediately won back by the Lombards, but it was probably restored to the Empire at the general peace in 599[2], for it was certainly Imperial in 735, and probably during the whole course of the preceding century.

Agilulf's campaign, 593 (?). This successful campaign of Romanus brought king Agilulf into the field. The rebellion of the dukes had probably kept him fully employed in 592, while Ariulf and Arichis were carrying on the war in the centre and south of Italy, but now, apparently in the spring of 593, he took the field, crossed the river Po, and marched with a powerful army to Perugia[3].

[1] Maurisio's connexion with Perugia previously to 593 seems to me probable rather than proved.

[2] See Diehl, 'Études sur l'administration Byzantine,' p. 69, n. 4. His arguments for the restitution in 599 are, I think, convincing, especially his reference to Greg. Ep. x. 6, in which the Pope asks for an escort for the wife of the Prefect 'ad Perusinam civitatem.'

[3] Paulus, H. L. iv. 8: 'Quod factum [the expedition of Romanus], cum regi Agilulfo nuntiatum esset, statim Ticino egressus, cum valido exercitu civitatem Perusiam petiit: ibique per dies aliquod [*sic*] Maurisionem ducem Langobardorum, qui se Romanorum partibus tradiderat, obsedit, et sine morâ captum vitâ privavit.' I agree with Muratori (Annali, iii. p. 544) and Weise

After a siege of some days, the city surrendered, and Duke Maurisio, for his treason to the cause of the Lombards, was at once put to death. BOOK VI. CH. 8. 593.

Agilulf then marched on Rome, where Gregory was at that time engaged in giving daily homilies on the book of Ezekiel. There was something in the mysterious visions of the captive prophet by the river Chebar, something in his stern denunciations of coming Rome threatened.

(pp. 178–180) in thinking 593 the most likely year for Agilulf's siege of Rome. It is true that there is nothing in Gregory's correspondence for that year which clearly points to this conclusion, but at least it contains nothing contrary to it; nor is there any other year the letters of which fit better with the invasion than 593. If we accept Hartmann's theory (in his comment on Greg. Ep. v. 26 in M. G. H. p. 319), that the siege of Rome took place between December 593 and March 594—an interval for which we have no letters in the collection—both that gap and the fact of Gregory's silence as to the siege are explained. But this theory involves the great difficulty of supposing a winter campaign undertaken by King Agilulf. On the whole I incline, though with considerable hesitation, to accept Weise's date of June 593 (or thereabouts) for the siege of Rome. It seems to be confirmed by the close of Gregory's letter (iv. 2) to Constantius, bishop of Milan, which is referred to September 593, and which says, 'You have accurately and briefly indicated to me the things which have occurred, whether in connexion with king Ago [= Agilulf] or the kings of the Franks. I pray that your Brotherhood will by all means make me acquainted with all that has hitherto come to your knowledge. But if you see that Ago effects nothing with the Patrician [Romanus], assure him, on my behalf, that I am ready to spend myself in his cause, if he too is willing to come to any beneficial arrangement with the Republic.' ('Si autem videritis, quia cum Patricio nihil facit Ago, Langobardorum rex, de nobis ei promittite, quia paratus sum in causâ ejus impendere, si ipse utiliter aliquid cum Republicâ voluerit ordinare.') This certainly looks like the sequel of an interview in which Gregory and Agilulf have decided that as far as they personally are concerned there is nothing to hinder them from being friends.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 593.

woe, which exactly harmonised with the mood of mind of the melancholy Pope, who sincerely believed—and it is the key to much of his conduct—that the end of the world was visibly approaching[1]. He had already, in his sixth homily, bewailed the overthrown cities, the desolated country, the departed glory of the senate and people, the stately buildings of Rome herself daily toppling in decay. 'After the men have failed, even the walls fall. Where are they who aforetime rejoiced in her magnificence? Where is all their pomp, their pride, their frequent disordered revelry? Lo, she sitteth desolate, she is trodden down, she is filled with groaning. Now, no one hastens to her that he may get forward in the world: not one of her mighty and violent men remaineth to oppress the poor and to divide the spoil.'

So was Gregory daily haranguing from the pulpit when the news came that Agilulf had crossed the Po. Then, after a few days, came the manifest and miserable signs of war. Some citizens crept back to Rome, their hands having been chopped off by the savage foe; others were reported to be taken prisoners; others slain[2]. Gregory himself, from the battlements of the threatened City, saw the captive Romans driven over the Campagna, with halters round their necks, roped together like dogs, on their way to slavery in the land of the Franks[3]. He closed the great uncial manuscript of Ezekiel with a sigh, descended from the pulpit, and preached no more homilies on the prophet.

[1] He says, in the third book of the Dialogues, c. 38, 'Quid in aliis mundi partibus agatur ignoro. Nam in hac terrâ in quâ nos vivimus, finem suam mundus jam non nuntiat sed ostendit.'

[2] Gregory's tenth Homily of the second book on Ezekiel.

[3] Ep. v. 40.

Perhaps he called to mind that even so had St. Jerome been labouring to expound the mysteries of Ezekiel when he received the news of the capture of the City by Alaric; an event, the horrors of which, after nearly two centuries, seemed likely to be repeated by the more barbarous Agilulf. However this may be, the Pope turned from his spiritual labours as expositor of the Bible, and, aided by his namesake Gregory, the Prefect of the City, and by Castus, the Master of the Soldiery, set himself vigorously to work to provide for the defence of Rome.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 593.

After all, the City was not stormed, was perhaps not even subjected to a long blockade, though there are indications of something like a famine having prevailed within its walls. How was it that Agilulf did not write his name in the list of Rome-capturers, where Alaric, Gaiseric and Totila had written theirs? It is a curious illustration of the sparsely-scattered lights by which the history of this period has to be written, that the answer to this important question comes to us from far Copenhagen. In the continuation of Prosper's Chronicle, which has been frequently referred to in these pages, and which is known as *Codex Havniensis*[1], we find it recorded that 'Agilulf at last, with the whole force of his army, set forth for the siege of the City of Rome; but on his arrival he found the Blessed Gregory, who was then gloriously ruling the Church, ready to meet him at the steps of the basilica of St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. Being melted by Gregory's prayers, and greatly moved by the wisdom and the religious gravity of so great

The siege of Rome averted, probably by Gregory's intercession.

[1] The only extant copy of it being in the Royal Library at Copenhagen.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 593. a man, he relinquished the siege of the City. He kept, however, the spoil which he had already taken, and, returning, betook himself to Milan.'

Other causes may have concurred to produce this result; the fear of fever, the remembrance of the long and disastrous Gothic siege, disaffection, or even rebellion, on the part of some of the Lombard dukes[1]. But, as in the case of Attila, so here the venerable personality of the recognised head of Christendom seems to have been the main instrument in procuring peace.

But the reconciliation between Pope and King, if

[1] Some of these causes are suggested by Weise, who argues strongly that the Continuer of Prosper is mistaken, and has muddled up the two sieges by Ariulf and Agilulf (pp. 164–165 and 181–183). A similar view is taken by Hartmann in his note on Greg. Ep. v. 40 (36), where he says that he believes this story to have been fabricated on the pattern of that of Leo and Attila. If it had really taken place, he says, the Pope would certainly have alluded to it in the above letter. It is, doubtless, most strange that neither in Gregory's letters nor in the history of Paulus is any allusion made to two such striking events as the disarmament of Ariulf and Agilulf by the spiritual weapons of the Pope, but it is admitted by Weise that *one* such event at any rate occurred, and the reasons, whatever they were, which prevented Gregory from boasting of his victory over Ariulf, may have equally applied to the case of Agilulf. Of all arguments in history, that drawn *e silentio* is one of the most dangerous. It would be found impossible to say on what principle we allude to certain events and omit all mention of others far more important, in our familiar letters to our friends. While recognising the force of much of Weise's reasoning, and admitting the possibility of a confusion in the Continuer's mind between Ariulf and Agilulf, I deem it to be on the whole the best course to take his statement as I find it, seeing that it is the utterance of a contemporary author (the Chronicle ends ten years after the death of Agilulf), and that it furnishes us with what we greatly need, a sufficient cause for the sudden raising of the siege of Rome.

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it was to lead to a durable peace for Italy, must necessarily be followed by a reconciliation between King and Emperor. For this the Pope seems at once to have begun working, since we find him, in a letter written in September, 593, urging the bishop of Milan to use his good offices to reconcile Agilulf and Romanus, and even empowering him to offer something like a Papal guarantee for the Lombard's good behaviour[1]. Moreover, it was just about this time (October, 593) that Gregory gave orders[2] for a diligent search to be made for the vessels of Church plate, that had been carried into Sicily by bishops fleeing from their sees in Italy, which were menaced by the Lombard ravagers. These vessels were to be all collected into one place and carefully labelled, in order that when peace was re-established—a contingency which the Pope then regarded as probable—they might be restored to the Churches which were their rightful owners.

Maurice's edict prohibiting the Civil and Military servants of the State to embrace the monastic life.

But peace between two such essentially antagonistic powers as the Lombard and the Greek was not easily to be obtained, nor was the Pope in these years in such favour at Constantinople as to be an acceptable mediator. The Emperor had issued an edict, which seemed to be rendered necessary by the increasing tendency of the servants of the State to evade their patriotic obligations by hiding themselves in a monastery, or assuming the office of the priesthood. The terms of this now lost edict appear to have been, 'That no one who is engaged in the administration of public business shall undertake ecclesiastical duty:

[1] See this letter quoted above (note on p. 369).

[2] Ep. iv. 16 (15).

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nor shall it be lawful for him to change his condition[1] and enter a monastery. The same prohibition applies to all officers and to every private soldier who has once been marked on the hand as belonging to the army, until his term of service is expired[2].'

Gregory's outspoken remonstrance.

Against this edict Gregory remonstrated in a letter[3] which is perhaps the most famous of all his Epistles, full as it is of holy indignation and couched in terms of bold rebuke, such as the Emperors never heard from the pliant Patriarchs of Constantinople. To the first part of the law, forbidding civil servants to accept office in the Church, the Pope made no objection. The result of his own sorrowful observation was that 'Whosoever shall doff the secular habit from a desire to scramble into ecclesiastical office, wants to change his world, not to leave it.' But the prohibition to enter a monastery was a widely different matter. It could not be justified by any supposed loss to the State, for any claims which it might have on the estate of a civil servant would be defrayed out of the property of the monastery. And as for the soldiers, why was the way of salvation to be closed up to them by Imperial decree? There were many who could not possibly lead a religious life, while still clothed with the secular habit. Was the Emperor's soldier to be forbidden to become a soldier of Christ?

Then, like another Bossuet or Bourdaloue, confront-

[1] 'Converti,' the technical word for becoming a monk.

[2] 'Praecepit enim, ut nullus qui actionem publicam egit, nullus qui optio vel manu signatus vel inter milites fuit habitus, ei in monasterio converti liceat nisi forte si militia ejus fuerit expleta' (Ep. iii. 66 (64)).

[3] Ep. iii. 65 (61).

ing Louis XIV in the plenitude of his power, Gregory turns and addresses these daring words to 'the Master of all things':— BOOK VI. CH. 8. 593.

'Lo! thus to thee, through me the lowest of his and thy servants, Christ makes answer, saying, "From a notary I made thee Captain of the Guard[1], from Captain of the Guard Caesar, from Caesar Emperor, and not only that, but father of Emperors yet to be. I have committed My priests to thy keeping, and wouldest thou withdraw thy soldiers from My service?" Most pious lord! I pray thee answer thy servant what reply wilt thou make to *thy* Lord, when He comes and says these things to thee at the Judgment?

'But perhaps you think that there is no such thing as the honest conversion of a soldier to the monastic life. I, your unworthy servant, know how many converted soldiers in my days have wrought miracles in the monasteries which they have entered. But by this law, not even one such soldier is to be allowed the privilege of conversion.

'I beg my lord to enquire, what previous Emperor gave forth such a law, and then let him carefully consider if that Emperor [Julian] set an example which he ought to follow. Let him consider this also, that he is hereby forbidding men to renounce the world at the very time when the world's own end is drawing near. For lo! there will be no delay: the time is at hand when, while the sky is burning, burning too the earth and the elements flashing fire, with angels and archangels, with thrones and dominations, with principalities and powers, the terrible Judge shall

[1] *Comes excubitorum.*

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 593. come. If He shall have forgiven all thy other sins, and shall allege against thee but this one law which thou hast promulgated, what, I pray, will be thy excuse? Wherefore, by the same terrible Judge I adjure thee, not to allow all thy tears, thy prayers, thy fastings, and thine alms, for the sake of some supposed advantage, to be clouded over before the eyes of Almighty God: but either by some fresh interpretation or by some open change to turn aside the rigour of that law. For then does my lord's army prevail most against his enemies when God's army grows strongest in prayer.

'I verily, as becomes one subject to your orders, have caused that law to be transmitted to various parts of your dominions: but I hereby announce to my Most Serene Lords by the pages of this memorandum[1], that the law itself is utterly repugnant to Almighty God. Thus have I paid the debt which I owe to each, to the Emperor obedience, to God the assertion of His rights[2].'

[1] 'Per suggestionis meae paginam.'

[2] In one of the letters to his friends at the Imperial court, which, according to his usual custom, accompanied this letter to the Emperor (Ep. iii. 67 (62)), Gregory quotes two proverbs which were no doubt current among the Roman populace. 'The Ethiopian comes out of the bath as black as he went in: nevertheless the bath-man receives his coppers.' This is applied to the case of Domitian, Metropolitan of Armenia, who had preached Christianity to the 'Emperor' of the Persians without converting him. 'We must measure the statue by its shadow, that is, we must judge great things by little ones' ('id est, in minimis majora perpendam'). The application of this proverb to the Emperor, about whom Domitian has quoted it ('De Mauricio autem bene dicitis'), is not very obvious; but it seems to convey the same idea as our proverb, 'Straws show which way the stream is flowing.' 'However,' Gregory concludes, 'I have this reason

594.

What was the result of these energetic remonstrances by the Pope we are not distinctly informed, but it is probable that the obnoxious edict, if not formally rescinded, was allowed to slumber unenforced in the Statute-book, and silently passed into oblivion.

Unfriendly influence of John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople.

If some soreness was left in the Emperor's mind by Gregory's vigorous protest, this was not likely to be allayed by his chief ecclesiastical adviser. John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, was one of the few eminent ecclesiastics who might conceivably claim to rival Gregory in the severity of his asceticism; and it is evident that the relations were never cordial between these two holy men, both so celebrated for the rigorous treatment of their bodies, and both really contending for the first place in the Christian hierarchy.

The Empress Constantina petitions for the head of St. Paul.

It seems probable, though the fact is not expressly stated, that a certain letter addressed by the Empress Constantina to the Pope in the spring of 594, was secretly prompted by John of Constantinople. This letter contained the really astounding request that the head of St. Paul might be severed from his body, which was believed to repose in his stately basilica by the Ostian road, and might be sent to Constantinople to enrich a chapel which Constantina was building in the Imperial palace in honour of the Apostle. If John the Faster was consulted about this letter, he must have known that it was quite impossible that the Empress's petition should be granted, and he may have calculated that the inevit-

for trusting him, that his soul is bound to ours by sacraments and hostages.' 'Sacraments' no doubt alludes to Gregory's sponsorship for the young Theodosius; 'hostages' probably to his influence over the Empress and other members of Maurice's family.

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594. Gregory's reply.

able refusal would place his rival at some disadvantage in the competition for Imperial favour. Gregory replied to the Empress that her request was one which he could not and dared not comply with[1]. 'For the bodies of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, reposing in their churches, gleam with such miracles and such terrors[2] that we cannot approach them, even for prayer, without great fear. When my predecessor [Pelagius II], of blessed memory, wished to change the silver [canopy] which was over the most holy body of St. Peter, though it was at a distance of fifteen feet from the corpse, a sign of no small terror appeared unto him. I, too, wished to make a similar improvement in connection with the most holy body of St. Paul, and found it necessary to dig somewhat deeply near the sepulchre. But the superintendent of the place having found certain bones not in immediate contact with the tomb, and having dared to lift them and remove them to another place, beheld certain sad signs and died by a sudden death.' The Pope then proceeds to relate a number of similar occurrences which showed the anger of the saints against those who ventured to disturb their bones. Some of his stories admit of an obvious physical explanation, but not all. The whole letter is an extraordinary one, proceeding as it does from the pen of one who had been a great Roman magistrate, accustomed to the careful weighing of evidence: and we rise from its perusal as from our study of the same author's life of St. Benedict, with the painful question in our minds, 'Is it possible that this man

[1] Ep. iv. 30 (dated by Ewald 'June 594').

[2] 'Tantis in ecclesiis suis coruscant miraculis atque terroribus.'

of clear and shrewd intellect really believed all that he has here recorded?'

594. Affair of Maximus, bishop of Salona.

Another root of bitterness between the Pope and the Emperor was the election of a certain Maximus as bishop of Salona, that Dalmatian city which a century and a half before this time saw a fallen Emperor[1] officiating in its cathedral. Honoratus the archdeacon was the candidate for this see favoured by Gregory, who disliked the character of Maximus, and suspected him of winning the votes of his most influential supporters by simony. The contest was a long one (593–599), and ended after six years in something that resembled a Papal surrender; and meanwhile Maximus, secure in the favour of the Imperial court, ventured on acts of the most outrageous defiance to the see of Rome, and even dared to accuse the saintly Gregory of murder, because a Dalmatian bishop named Malchus, who had been summoned to Italy to account for his maladministration of the Papal Patrimony, had died suddenly in exile. 'It has come to my ears,' said the Pope, 'that Maximus has sent a certain cleric [to the Emperor] to tell him that the bishop Malchus was killed while in custody on a charge of embezzlement[2]. On this matter I have only one brief suggestion to make to my Most Serene Lords, that if I, their humble servant, had chosen to mix myself up with the murder even of a Lombard, at this day the Lombard nation would have neither king, duke, nor count, but would be all

Gregory accused of the murder of Malchus.

[1] Glycerius. See vol. ii. p. 495 (483 second edition).

[2] 'Quia Malchus episcopus in custodia pro solidis occisus sit' (Ep. iv. 47 (v. 6)). This letter is dated in M. G. H. Sept.–Oct. 594.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 594. split up in hopeless confusion. But because I fear God I shrink from imbruing my hands in the blood of any man.

'As for Malchus, he was neither in custody nor under any kind of *duresse*; but on the day on which he pleaded his cause and lost it, he was without my knowledge taken home by Boniface the notary, who invited him to dinner. He was treated at the banquet as an honoured guest, but died suddenly, in the night, as I think that you, dear friend[1], have already heard.'

Remittances from Constantinople to Rome, 595. At the beginning of 595 the relations seem to have become somewhat more friendly. On the 12th of March in that year we find the Pope writing to the Emperor[2], thanking him for a remittance of 30 lbs. of gold [£1200] 'brought by my fellow-servant, the Treasury-clerk[3], Busa,' for distribution among the priests, the poor, and especially the nuns who had flocked to Rome from the various parts of Italy that were invaded by the Lombards, and were now eking out a bare subsistence in the convents and other places wherein they were quartered. He also reports that Castus, the Master of the Soldiery, has distributed the donative[4] to the soldiers out of the funds brought by the same messenger: that this gift has been gratefully received by the soldiers and has put an end to the murmurs and indiscipline which were before prevalent in the ranks.

Two months later (May, 595) Gregory wrote[5] to

[1] This letter is addressed to Sabinianus, Papal *apocrisiarius* at Constantinople.

[2] Ep. v. 30.

[3] *Scribo.*

[4] *Rogae.*

[5] Ep. v. 36 (34).

Severus, the Assessor[1] of Exarch Romanus, entreating him to use his influence with his chief in favour of peace. He says that those who sit by the side of rulers and who love them with pure affection ought to make to them such suggestions as, without detracting from their own reputation for wisdom, may tend to the salvation of the ruler's soul. 'Therefore, as I know what faithful love you bear to the Most Excellent Exarch, I desire to inform your Greatness of the course of affairs, that you, being in possession of this knowledge, may use your influence with him on behalf of reasonable proposals.

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Letter to the Exarch's Assessor in behalf of peace.

'Know, then, that Agilulf, king of the Lombards, is not unwilling to make a general peace, if my Lord the Patrician is of the same mind. He complains that many things have been done in his district contrary to the terms of the truce[2]. He claims that compensation shall be made to him for these wrongs, if they are proved to the satisfaction of the judges, and on the other hand he is willing to make the fullest reparation if any breach of the peace can be proved against his side. As this request is reasonable, judges should be appointed to take cognizance of acts of violence committed by either party; and let us hope that thus, by God's favour, a general peace may be firmly made. How necessary such a peace is to all of us you well know. Act, therefore,

[1] *Scolasticus* (see Diehl, p. 153).

[2] Or more literally, 'that many things have been done against him in his district within the limit' (quaere 'of space or of time'?) 'to which the peace applied.' 'Nam multa sibi in locis suis intra pacis terminum queritur esse commissa.' The reference evidently is to some truce or partial peace the terms of which, according to Agilulf's complaint, had not been observed by the Imperialists.

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with your usual wisdom, that the Most Excellent Exarch may be induced to come in to this proposal without delay, and may not prove himself to be the one obstacle to a peace which is so expedient for the State. If he will not consent, Agilulf again promises to make a separate peace with us; but we know that in that case several islands and other places will necessarily be lost. Let the Exarch then consider these points and hasten to make peace, that we may at least have a little interval in which we may enjoy a moderate amount of rest, and, by the Lord's help, may recruit the strength of the Republic for future resistance.'

Sharp rebuke from Maurice to Gregory.

But the Pope's noble persistence in the cause of peace was not yet to be crowned with success. Hardly had this epistle been despatched when he received a letter from the Emperor, the sharpest and the hardest to bear of all that had reached him from that quarter. The contents of that letter, itself lost, may easily be conjectured from the reply. All the transactions with the Lombards for the five preceding years were passed in review, and Gregory found himself accused of disloyalty, of presumption, of prodigality and—hardest stroke of all—of stupidity, all in one breath. The letter of reply is so important that it is necessary to quote it almost entire[1].

The Pope's answer, June 5, 595.

'GREGORY TO MAURICE, AUGUSTUS.

'In their most serene commands the Piety of my Lords[2], whilst rebuking me for certain faults, has with an appearance of sparing, not spared me at all.

[1] Ep. v. 40 (36).

[2] The plural number is used because of the association of Theodosius (now ten years old) with his father.

For in your letter, though you politely use the word "simplehearted," you do in fact call me "a fool[1]." Now, in the Scriptures we are always exhorted to let our simplicity be mingled with prudence, as it is said of Job, "He was a man simple and righteous": as the Apostle Paul says, "I would have you wise unto that which is good and simple concerning evil," and as the Truth Himself says in the gospel, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves." It follows, therefore, that when I, in my Lords' most serene letters, am said to have been deceived by the wiles of Ariulf, and am called "simple," without the addition of "prudent," your meaning, without doubt, must be that I am a fool. And I myself must confess that you are right. Even if your Piety did not use the word, my very circumstances cry aloud "He is a fool." If I were not, I should never have consented to suffer those things which I have suffered here from the swords of the Lombards. As for my report concerning Ariulf, that he was ready with his whole heart to come over to the Republic, you do not believe me. That means that I am accused of telling lies. But even if I am not worthy to be considered a priest[2], I know this much about the priest's office, that he is bound to render service to the truth, and that it is a deadly insult to call him a liar. I have long perceived, however, that more confidence is reposed in Norduulf or in Leo than in me[3], and now those who come between us receive more credence than is given to my assertions.

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[1] 'Nam in eis urbano *simplicitatis* vocabulo me *fatuum* appellas.'

[2] 'Sed etsi sacerdos non sum' (?).

[3] Norduulf is probably the Nordoulfus Patricius mentioned in the letter of Romanus to Childebert (Troya, iv. 1. 132) as sent by

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'And in truth if the captivity of our land were not daily and hourly increasing, I would gladly hold my peace as to the contempt and derision that are poured upon me. But this sorely afflicts me, that the same temper which accuses me of falsehood permits Italy to be daily led captive under the Lombard yoke, and that while no confidence is reposed in my assertions the forces of the enemy are enormously increasing. I would suggest, however, to my Most Pious Lord, that he may think of me all the evil that he pleases: but for the good of the Republic and for the cause of the liberation of Italy, let him not easily lend his pious ears to the first comer, but let him trust facts rather than words.

'Do not let my Lord, in the consciousness of his earthly power, be quick to take offence with bishops [1], but let him remember Whose servants they are, that he may show them fitting reverence. God Himself, speaking through the mouth of Moses, calls priests "gods [2]," and the prophet Malachi says [3], "The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the angel [messenger] of the Lord of Hosts." The history of the Church bears witness that when the bishops were

the Emperor into Italy, and recovering several towns from the Lombards. Leo is probably the Ex-consul in Sicily mentioned in Greg. Ep. i. 3 and 72 (70).

[1] *Sacerdotibus.*

[2] Gregory is referring to Exodus xxii. 8, where it is said of a defaulting bailee, 'Applica illum ad deos,' which Gregory interprets 'videlicet ad sacerdotes.' In our version the passage is rendered 'He shall be brought unto the judges.' He also refers to Exodus xxii. 28: 'Diis non detrahes' ('scilicet sacerdotibus'), 'Thou shalt not revile the gods' [mar. 'judges'], 'nor curse the ruler of thy people.'

[3] ii. 7.

assembled in council [at Nicaea] Constantine burned the indictments preferred against some of them, before their faces, saying, "Ye are gods, appointed by the true God[1]. Go and judge your own causes yourselves, for it is not fitting that we should be the judges of gods." In which sentence, pious Lord! he gained more honour for himself by his humility than he conferred on the bishops by his reverence. Even the pagan Emperors of old, who worshipped gods of wood and stone, gave highest honour to their priests, and surely a Christian Emperor should not do less to his bishops.

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'These suggestions I make to my pious Lords, not for mine own sake, but for the sake of other bishops. For I am but a sinful man, and as I am incessantly failing in my duty towards Almighty God, so I trust that the strokes which I am now daily and hourly receiving may somewhat lighten my sentence at His awful Judgment-day: and I think that you may even please the Almighty the better, the more harshly you deal with His unworthy servant. For I have already received many strokes, and when my Lord's orders came, I found some consolations that I did not hope for. If possible, I will briefly enumerate these strokes to which I refer.

Review of events of the past three years.

'The first was that the peace which, without any cost to the Republic, I had concluded with the Lombards encamped in Tuscia, was wrested from me.

'Then, when peace had been broken, the soldiers were removed from Rome. Some were slain by the enemy, others quartered at Narni and Perugia, and

[1] These words, 'Vos dii estis a vero Deo constituti,' are not to be found in any of the Church historians.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. that Perugia might still be held, Rome was left unguarded.

595. 'A heavier stroke after this was the arrival of Agilulf, when, with my own eyes, I saw Romans coupled together like dogs, with ropes round their necks, being led away to be sold in France[1].

'Then, as we who were within the City by God's protection escaped his hands, an attempt was made to show that we were responsible for the failure of the corn-supplies, which cannot possibly be stored in any great quantity or for a long time in this City, as I have shown more fully in another memorandum[2].

'For myself, I am not harassed by any of these things, because my conscience bears me witness that I am ready to suffer any adversity, if only I may escape all these evils without peril to my soul. But for the Glorious persons, Gregory the Prefect [of the City], and Castus, Master of the Soldiery, I am distressed, greatly distressed, since they neglected no possible precaution, but endured the toils of police-duty and sentry-duty[3] during the aforesaid siege with the greatest alacrity, and then, after all, are struck by the severe indignation of My Lords. All which plainly shows that it is not their own conduct, but their connection with me, that brings them into trouble, and that as they laboured together with me in our

[1] 'Ita ut oculis meis cernerem Romanos more canum in collis funibus ligatos, qui ad Franciam ducebantur venales.' If this be not the first it must, at any rate, be a very early instance of the use of 'Francia' instead of 'Gallia.'

[2] Not preserved.

[3] 'Vigiliarum et custodiae civitatis.' The former alludes to the internal guardianship of the City against malefactors; the latter to defence against the enemies outside.

tribulations, so they are to be tribulated together with me after our labours are ended. BOOK VI. CH. 8.

'As for my pious Lords reminding me of the awful and terrible judgment of Almighty God, I pray them in the same Almighty Name not to do that again. We do not yet know how each man will appear on that day. As the illustrious preacher Paul says, "Judge nothing before the time, till the Lord cometh who shall illuminate the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the secrets of all hearts." I will say this, however, briefly, that as an unworthy sinner I have more hope from the mercy of Jesus when He comes, than I have from the justice of your Piety. Men know little about His judgment, and perchance the things which you praise He will blame, and those which you blame He will praise. Therefore, amid all this uncertainty, I can but have recourse to tears, and pray that the same Almighty God may guide our most pious lord by His own hand, and that in that dread day He may find me free from fault, having enabled me so to please men (if that be necessary) as not to forfeit His everlasting favour.' 595.

Strained relations between Emperor and Pope.

This letter of Gregory, bold almost to insolence, marks the 'dead point' of his strivings after peace with the Lombards. He had now occupied the chair of St. Peter, and Agilulf the throne of Pavia, for nearly five years. Peace was their common interest, but the relation in which Gregory stood to Constantinople made that peace as yet unattainable. The Emperor, though powerless to win back Italy, and not too sure of being able to defend even the fragments of it which were left to him, would not recognise, and thereby seem to legalise, the past conquests of the Lombards.

BOOK VI. CH. 8. 595. For his attempt to persuade him to adopt that course the Pope had now received a sharp reprimand, which, had Maurice been Justinian and Gregory Vigilius, would probably have been followed by deportation to an island in the Propontis, and a formal charge of *laesa majestas.*

CHAPTER IX.

THE PAPAL PEACE.

Authorities.

Sources:—

GREGORII EPISTOLAE, Books V–IX.
PAULUS DIACONUS, Book IV.

The year 595 a crisis in the history of Pope Gregory.

THE year 595 has been generally looked upon as a turning-point in the history of Gregory's papacy. It was not only in that year that he began seriously to prepare his scheme for the conversion of England, but it was also then that he formally entered the lists to dispute the pretensions of the Patriarch of Constantinople. For we must always bear in mind the double character of the warfare which a Bishop of Rome, at that period of the world's history, deemed himself bound to wage. Locally, as the first citizen of Rome, as one who looked forth from her walls on the Sabine hills and the Ciminian forest, he felt himself to be, as he continually repeats, 'between the swords of the Lombards[1];' but, ecclesiastically, he had to defend the so-called rights of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, against the ever-menacing encroachments of the see of Constantinople. It has been already shown[2], and the

Contest with the see of Constantinople.

[1] 'Intra gladios Langobardorum,' a phrase of frequent occurrence in Gregory's letters.

[2] See vol. iii. pp. 150–152.

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proof need not be repeated here, how the claim of Old Rome to the ecclesiastical primacy of the world was interwoven with her old Imperial dominion, and how this claim was threatened when Constantinople became the political centre of the Empire, and her bishops the intimate friends and spiritual advisers of the Emperor. Now, the very fact that Italy was becoming more and more hopelessly lost to the Empire, and that the Bishop of Rome, if he retained any connection whatever with 'the Roman Republic,' must live a most precarious life 'between the swords of the Lombards,' to some extent imperilled even his ecclesiastical position. Pope and Exarch already found their interests diverging; those interests would probably diverge yet more in future. Yet greater in all probability would be the ever-widening gulf between Pope and Emperor; while, on the other hand, the Bishop of Constantinople, living under the shadow of the Imperial greatness, and with the hard fate of the outspoken Chrysostom ever present to his mind, tended more and more to become the mere private chaplain of the Byzantine Augustus. No wonder, therefore, that whenever a dispute arose between the First and the Second in authority in the Universal Church, the Emperor was always ready to look askance at the pretensions of Rome and to favour those of Constantinople.

John the Faster claims the title of Ecumenical Bishop.

The holy man, John the Faster, whose elevation to the patriarchal throne Gregory had witnessed in 582 during his residence at Constantinople, had revived for his own benefit a dormant claim to a title which had been conceded, as a matter of courtesy, to some of his predecessors, that of Ecumenical, or Universal,

Bishop[1]. In the year 588[2] (two years before Gregory's accession) a synod was held at Constantinople in reference to the affairs of the see of Antioch, and when the Acts of this synod were received at Rome they were found to contain frequent mention of the name of John of Constantinople, with the unwelcome addition 'Universal Bishop.' Against this title Pelagius II, probably by the advice of Gregory, who knew the temper of the Eastern Patriarch, energetically protested, forbade his *responsalis* to communicate with the usurping prelate, and even went so far as to declare the Acts of the Council null and void by reason of this irregularity.

Apparently the controversy slumbered during the first five years of Gregory's pontificate; but in 595, John the Faster, with an ingenuity in annoyance such as might be looked for in a man so holy and so abstinent, addressed to his brother of Rome a letter in which 'almost in every line he called himself Ecumenical Patriarch[3].' By this letter all the wrath of Gregory—not naturally a sweet-tempered man, and already sufficiently tortured by dyspepsia, gout and

[1] Οἰκουμενικὸς ἐπίσκοπος. (Sometimes the title claimed is Universal *Patriarch.*) The title was not really new, had in fact been applied to Pope Leo I by the bishops of Egypt in 451, and had been claimed for themselves by the bishops of Constantinople in the Synod of Constantinople (518), and in that of Mennas (552). But either it had since then been tacitly dropped, or the attention of the popes had not been called to so dangerous an encroachment on their own rights of primacy (see Wolfsgruber, pp. 134–137).

[2] [Or 587].

[3] 'Ad hoc enim usque pervenit, ut sub occasione presbyteri Johannis gesta hic transmitteret, in quâ se paene per omnem versum ycomenicon [*sic*] Patriarcham nominaret' (Ep. v. 19 (45)). The occasion of the letter was the appeal of a certain presbyter, John, from Constantinople to Rome.

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Lombards—was aroused against the aspiring Patriarch. The messenger who was speedily despatched to the Imperial court took with him a heavy packet of letters, all relating to this 'wicked word[1]' ecumenical[2].

Gregory's angry remonstrances to John the Faster.

To the offending Patriarch himself Gregory wrote, as he says, 'sweetly and humbly admonishing him to cure his desire of vainglory[3].' Yet even this sweet and humble letter[4] cannot have been altogether pleasant to receive.

'I am astonished,' says the Pope, 'that you, who

[1] 'Sceleste vocabulum' (Ep. v. 19 (45)).

[2] When were these letters sent, and when did the ecumenical controversy burst into a flame? According to the dates assigned in the edition in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, and accepted by Weise, they were all sent in *June* 595. It is admitted, however, that there is much, in fact preponderating, MS. authority in favour of *January*; only there are signs of hesitation and correction on the transcribers' part. The Benedictine editors accept the January date, and therefore put these letters earlier in Book V than Ewald has done. As Weise, who is so often the unsparing critic of Ewald's reconstruction, here adopts his views, I have thought it safer to accept virtually the same date, and to put the ecumenical-bishop controversy after the Emperor's rebuke to Gregory, which called forth the reply quoted in the last chapter. But I cannot resist the suspicion that, after all, the January date may be the right one. It is very difficult to bring the ecumenical-bishop letters, especially that to Maurice (Ep. v. 20 (37)), into such close contact with the letter about the Pope's fatuity in trusting to Ariulf (Ep. v. 40 (36)), when there is not the slightest reference in either letter to the other. And on the other theory it would be easy to understand how the Emperor, piqued by Gregory's persistent refusal to concede the title Ecumenical to *his* Patriarch, might retort upon him by the angry letter in which he conferred on the Pope the undesired title 'fatuus.'

[3] 'Ego autem . . . praedicto consacerdoti meo et dulciter scripsi et humiliter ut ab hac inanis gloriae appetitione sese emendet admonui' (Ep. v. 20 (37)).

[4] Ep. v. 18 (44).

fled in order that you might escape the honour of the Patriarchate, should now bear yourself in it so proudly that you will be thought to have coveted it with ambitious desire. In the days of my predecessor, Pelagius, a letter was sent to you in which the acts of the synod about Bishop Gregory were disallowed because of the proud title attributed to you therein, and the Archdeacon sent to the Emperor was forbidden to celebrate mass with you on account of it. That prohibition I now repeat: my *responsalis* Sabinianus is not to communicate with you till you have amended this error.

'The Apostle Paul rebuked the spirit which would shout, "I am of Paul and I of Apollos." You are reviving that spirit and rending the unity of the body of Christ. The Council of Chalcedon offered this title of *universalis* to the Roman Pontiff, but he refused to accept it, lest he should seem thereby to derogate from the honour of his brother bishops[1].

'It is the last hour: Pestilence and the sword are raging in the world. Nation is rising against nation, the whole fabric of things is being shaken. Cities with their inhabitants are swallowed up by the yawning earth. All the prophecies are being fulfilled. The King of Pride is nigh at hand, and—inexpressible shame—priests are serving in his army. Yes, they are raising the haughty neck of pride who were chosen that they might set an example of humility.

'Our Lord humbled Himself for our sakes, and He who was inconceivably great wore the lowly form

[1] No such formal offer seems to have been made by the Council, though some documents were read without disapproval, in which Leo was called 'ecumenical bishop.'

of manhood, yet we bishops are imitating, not His humility, but the pride of His great foe. Remember that He said to His disciples, "Be not called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren." He said, "Woe to the world because of offences! Woe to him by whom the offence cometh!" Lo! from this wicked word of pride offence has come, and the hearts of all the brethren are provoked to stumbling by it.'

Gregory then quotes the words of Christ (Matt. xviii. 15–17) about telling a brother his fault 'between him and thee alone,' and continues, 'I have, by my *responsalis*, once and twice told you your fault, and am now writing to you myself. If I am despised in this endeavour to correct you, it will only remain to call in the Church.

'I have received the very sweet and kind letters of your Holiness about the causes of John and Athanasius[1], about which, with the Lord's help, I will reply to you in my next, because under the weight of so great tribulations, surrounded as I am by the swords of the barbarians, I am so oppressed that I cannot say much, nay can hardly breathe.'

To his representative at Constantinople.

So ran the letter to the arch-offender. To his *responsalis*, Sabinianus, the Pope wrote[2], saying that he had addressed his most reverend brother John with a proper admixture of frankness and courtesy[3], but, if he persisted, another letter would be addressed to him which his pride would not relish. 'But I hope in Almighty God,' said Gregory, 'that his hypocrisy

[1] Two presbyters who had appealed against John to the Pope.

[2] Ep. v. 19 (45).

[3] 'Rectitudinem et blandimentum.'

will soon be brought to nought by the Supernal Majesty. I marvel, however, that he should have been able so to deceive you, dear friend, that you should allow our Lord the Emperor to be persuaded to write, admonishing me to live in peace with the Patriarch. If he would act justly, he should rather admonish him to give up that proud title, and then there would be peace between us at once. You little thought, I can see, how craftily this was managed by our aforesaid brother John. Evidently he did it in order to put me in this dilemma. Either I must listen to our Lord the Emperor, and so confirm the Patriarch in his vanity, or not listen, and so rouse the Imperial mind against me. 595.

'But we shall steer a straight course in this matter, fearing none save God Almighty. Wherefore, dear friend, tremble before no man; for the truth's sake despise all whom you may see exalting themselves against the truth in this world; confide in the favour of Almighty God and the help of the blessed Peter; remember the voice of Truth which says, "Greater is He that is in you than he that is in the world;" and do with fullest authority, as from us, whatever has to be done in this affair.

'For after we have found that we could in no way be defended [by the Greeks] from the swords of our enemies, after we have lost, for our devotion to the Republic, silver, gold, slaves and raiment, it is too disgraceful that we should, through them, lose our faith also[1]. But to consent to that wicked word is

[1] 'Postquam enim defendi ab inimicorum gladiis nullo modo possumus, postquam pro amore reipublicae argentum, aurum, mancipia, vestes perdidimus, nimis ignominiosum est ut per eos

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nothing else than to lose our faith. Wherefore, as I have written to you in previous letters, you must never presume to communicate with him.'

To the Emperor.

It will be seen from this letter that the aspiring Patriarch had invoked the assistance of the Emperor against the Pope, even before the latter had received the extreme provocation of the letter which bristled with the obnoxious word 'ecumenical.' Evidently John of Constantinople had represented his brother of Rome—not altogether without truth—as exacting and quarrelsome; and Maurice, sincerely desirous for peace in the Church, had addressed Pope Gregory in language similar to that which Constantine employed to the contending prelates at Nicaea. To Maurice, therefore, the Pope addressed a long and eloquent letter[1], praising his zeal for the peace of the Church, but insisting that the whole trouble arose from the pride of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Yes, the pride of the clergy was the real cause of the disasters of the Empire, of the triumphs of the barbarians. To disarm criticism, Gregory appears to associate himself with the sins of which he accuses his rival, but this is evidently a mere rhetorical artifice, and when he says 'we,' he means the obnoxious Faster alone.

'When we leave the position which befits us, and devise for ourselves unbecoming honours, we ally our own sins to the forces of the barbarians; we depress

etiam fidem perdamus.' As 'eos' can hardly refer to 'inimicorum' (which must surely mean the Lombards), the sense seems to require that we should understand after 'defendi' some such words as I have placed in brackets.

[1] Ep. v. 20 (37).

the strength of the Republic and sharpen against us the swords of her enemies. How can we excuse ourselves, who are preaching one thing to our flocks, and ourselves practising the opposite? Our bones are worn away with fasting and our hearts are swollen with pride: our body is clothed with vile raiment, and in the elation of our souls we surpass the purple of emperors. We lie in ashes, and we nourish proud fancies. Teachers of the lowly and generals of pride, we hide a wolf's teeth behind a sheep's visage. But God sees our spirits, and is putting it into the heart of the Most Pious Emperor to restore peace to the Church.

'This is not my cause, but the cause of God Himself. It was to Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, that the Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my Church." He who received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, he to whom the power of binding and loosing was entrusted, was never called the Universal Apostle; and yet that most holy man, my fellow-bishop John, strives to get himself called the Universal Bishop. When I see this I am compelled to cry out, "*O tempora! O mores!*"

'Lo! all Europe is handed over to the power of the barbarians; cities are destroyed, villages overthrown, provinces depopulated; no tiller cultivates the soil; idolaters rage and rule, daily murdering the faithful; and yet the priests, who alone should have thrown themselves on the pavement and wept in sackcloth and ashes, are seeking for themselves names of vanity and flaunting new and profane titles.'

The Pope then enlarges on the undoubted fact that Bishops of Constantinople had been more than once

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convicted of heresy[1], and after touching on some of the arguments brought forward in the accompanying letters, he tries to excite the Emperor's resentment by hinting that the hated word implied a covert attack on his own crown and dignity.

'We are all suffering from the scandal of this thing. My Most Pious Lord must coerce this proud man, who is disobeying the canons of the Church, and is even setting himself up against the honour of your Imperial dignity by this proud private word.

'Let the author of this scandal return to a right life and all the quarrels of bishops will cease. I am myself the servant of priests, so long as they live priest-like lives. But as for this man, who in his swelling vainglory raises his neck against Almighty God and against the statutes of the fathers, I trust in God that he shall never bend *my* neck, no, not with swords.'

So wrote the first citizen of Old Rome to the Monarch of the New; and his words, though uttered in the bland tone of the Churchman, had in them a ring which reminds us of Regulus and Coriolanus.

To the Empress.

Lastly, Gregory wrote to the Empress Constantina[2], thanking her for having thrown her influence on the side of St. Peter against some who were proudly humble and feignedly meek. For this she would be rewarded both in this life and in the life to come, when she would find the benefit of having made him who had the power of binding and loosing, her debtor. 'Do not let any hypocrisy,' he says, 'prevail against the truth. There are some who, by sweet speeches and fair words, deceive the hearts of the simple:

[1] Macedonius and Nestorius. [2] Ep. v. 21 (39).

shabby in dress, but proud in heart, they seem as if they despised everything in this world, yet they are scheming to obtain all this world's treasures. They profess themselves the unworthiest of men, yet they are trying to acquire titles which proclaim them worthier than all others.

'I have received my Most Pious Lord's letters, telling me to live peaceably with my brother John. It is quite fitting that a religious Emperor should send such instructions to his bishops. But when my brother, by a new and unheard-of presumption, calls himself "Universal Bishop," it is a hard thing in my Most Serene Lord to correct, not him whose pride is the cause of all the trouble, but me, who am defending the rights of the Apostle Peter and the canons of the Church.

'In my brother's pride I can only see a sign that the days of Antichrist are at hand. He seems to imitate him who said, "I will set my throne above the stars of heaven: I will sit on the mount of the covenant on the sides of the north, I will ascend above the heights of the clouds. I will be like the Most High[1]." Do not suffer this perverse word to be used. Perhaps the sins of Gregory may have deserved such a humiliation, but Peter has not sinned; and it is Peter who will be the sufferer. Again I say: see that the honour paid by your pious predecessors to Peter suffers no diminution, and Peter will be your helper here in all things, and hereafter will discharge your sins.

'It is now seven and twenty years[2] that we have

[1] Isa. xiv. 13, 14.

[2] 568–595; an important passage for fixing the date of the Lombards' entry into Italy.

BOOK VI. CH. 9. been living in this City between the swords of the Lombards. How much we have had to pay daily
595. from the Church's treasury, in order that we might be able even to live among them, cannot be calculated. Briefly, I will say that as my Lords have at Ravenna an officer called Paymaster[1] of the First Army of Italy, who, as necessity arises, provides for the daily expenditure, so in this City in such matters I am their Paymaster[2]. Yet this Church, which is incessantly spending such vast sums on the clerics, on the monasteries, on the poor, on the people, and on the Lombards also, must be further oppressed by the affliction of the other Churches, all of which groan over this man's pride, though they do not dare to express their feelings.'

Such was the tenor of the letter to the Empress. Let it not be thought that in drawing so largely from this correspondence we are devoting too much time to a mere ecclesiastical squabble, which might find a place in the history of the Church but scarcely concerns the history of Italy. Besides its valuable incidental allusions to the miseries inflicted by the ravages of the Lombards, this correspondence is of truly 'ecumenical' importance in its bearing on the relations of East and West, of the Tiber and the Bosphorus. It was the growing estrangement between the Churches which prepared the way for the separation of the Empires. Had there been any real cordiality through the sixth, seventh and eighth cen-

[1] *Saccellarium.*

[2] 'Ita et in hac urbe in causis talibus eorum saccellarius ego sum.' 'Eorum' probably refers to 'my lords,' but the parallelism would be better if it referred to 'the Lombards.'

turies between Pope and Patriarch, it is not probable that the descendant of a Frankish Mayor of the Palace would ever have been hailed as Augustus in the streets of Rome. BOOK VI. CH. 9. 595.

In this particular case the dispute between the two sees ended in something like a drawn battle. In the very year in which the fierce correspondence quoted above had taken place, perhaps only a few weeks after Gregory's angriest letter had arrived at Constantinople, John the Faster died. When the Universal Conqueror had thus mowed down the Universal Bishop, one element which had lent peculiar acrimony to the dispute, namely, the emulation of austerity between the two chief combatants, disappeared. The Emperor, sincerely anxious for the peace of the Church, lingered for some time over his choice of a successor to the Faster, and at length selected Cyriacus, a man apparently of gentle and unassuming nature, who had been a friend of Gregory during his residence at Constantinople. The two *responsales*[1] whom the new Patriarch despatched to Rome were cordially received, and unhesitatingly admitted to communion with the Pontiff; 'for why,' as Gregory himself argued[2], 'should the fact that I forbade my representative to accept the sacred mysteries at the hands of one who had fallen into the sin of pride and elation, or who had failed to correct that sin in others, prevent his ministers from receiving them at the hands of one who, like myself, has not fallen into that sin?' After five months' residence at Rome the messengers of Constantinople were at length reluctantly and affectionately dismissed.

Death of John the Faster. Sept. 2, 595.

The new Patriarch's Embassy to Rome, Oct. 590.

[1] Presbyter George and Deacon Theodore. Greg. Ep. vii. 15.

[2] Ep. vii. 33 (30).

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595. Further communications.

To the Emperor Gregory wrote[1], thanking him for his delay in choosing John's successor, and for his final appointment of Cyriacus. To the new Patriarch himself the Pope wrote a few letters[2], in a gradually diminishing tone of affection, as it became more and more manifest that the 'wicked word' Ecumenical, though not obtruded by him, would not be abandoned. But though Gregory still emphatically asserted that whoever called himself 'Ecumenical Bishop' was the precursor of Antichrist, the correspondence on the subject lost much of its former heat, and we may perhaps say that, the title having been claimed by Cyriacus for the honour of Constantinople, and protested against by Gregory for the honour of Rome, the personal relations of the two Patriarchs became friendly, if not cordial[3].

So much for the ecclesiastical war of Patriarchates. We return to the endeavours which Gregory was making, with praiseworthy perseverance, to secure peace to Italy. Throughout the year 595, and at least

[1] Ep. vii. 6.

[2] Ep. vii. 4. 31 (5. 28), xiii. 40.

[3] [The issue of the controversy may be stated here. Notwithstanding a decree of Phocas, the successor of Maurice, confirming in strong terms the primacy of the see of Rome, the Patriarchs of Constantinople continued to use the objectionable title. In the west, though flatterers tried to foist the title of Universal Bishop onto the Popes, the remembrance of Gregory's words was so strong that his successors practically refrained from ever claiming it.

Instances of the application of the title to Popes at the end of the seventh century may be found in the Liber Diurnus, p. 70, Form 73, and p. 108, Form 85. On the other hand, Leo IX states that the title 'nec ab illo (Leone I), nec ab ullo successorum ipsius constat hactenus receptum'.

This note modifies views expressed on pp. 402-8 of the first edition. Acknowledgements are due to the Rev. H. K. Mann.]

the first half of 596, he was sore in spirit because of the continued hostility of the Exarch Romanus. 'Most holy brother,' he wrote to Bishop Sebastian[1], 'the things which we suffer in this country from the influence of your friend, the lord Romanus, are such as we cannot describe. Briefly, I may say that his malice towards us is decidedly worse than the swords of the Lombards, so that the enemies who slay us outright seem kind in comparison with the rulers (*judices*) of the Republic who consume us by their spite, their rapine, and the treachery of their hearts. But to have simultaneously to support the care of the bishops and clergy, of the monasteries and the people, to watch with anxious vigilance against the snares of the enemy, to have always to defend oneself as a suspected person against the tricks and malice of the [Imperial] generals:—what labour and what grief this is, your Brotherhood who loves me so well and so purely, will be able truly to conjecture.'

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Gregory's complaints of the Exarch Romanus, June 1, 595.

Moreover the cowardice or the licentiousness of the clergy demoralised their flocks, and so made the work of the invaders easier. In the beginning of 596 Gregory wrote to his representative in Campania[2] that it had come to his ears that Pimenius, bishop of Amalfi, was not content to dwell in his own Church, but was roaming about to different places, and that his flock, following his bad example, were deserting their own village[3]. All this was simply inviting the enemy to

Demoralisation of the Clergy.

[1] Ep. v. 42 (40). Sebastian was bishop of Sirmium, or, according to Ewald's reading, of Resinum in Dalmatia.

[2] The sub-deacon Anthemius. Greg. Ep. vi. 23.

[3] 'Castro.' This word was used by Gregory, and other writers of the time, of a small town or village, not necessarily fortified.

BOOK VI. CH. 9. 596.

make depredations on their homes, and therefore Pimenius must be sharply rebuked and ordered to remain thenceforward in his own Church, where a bishop ought to be. If disobedient, he was to be shut up in a monastery, in which case Gregory would take measures for the appointment of a successor.

The Pope's Secretary is lampooned at Ravenna, because of his exertions for peace.

Castorius the Papal *chartularius*, who was much employed by the Pope about this time in certain ecclesiastical matters concerning the succession to the see of Ravenna, became also a person of considerable political importance, as one acquainted with the views of the Pope on the subject of peace, and as the intermediary between him and Agilulf. It was he who brought to Rome the report of the negotiations which his colleague Secundus had been carrying on with the Lombard king[1]. But his activity in this negotiation did not render him popular with the citizens of Ravenna. Shut up in their impregnable city, they could afford to despise the sufferings of the *coloni* of Campania—those sufferings which tore the heart of Gregory—and could boast, with easy courage, that they would have nothing to do with any surrender to the barbarian. A curious letter of the Pope's, which was probably written in the spring of 596[2], states that 'some person, at the instigation of a malign spirit, has in the silence of the night affixed a placard[3] in a public place at Ravenna, speaking of Castorius in libellous terms, and even bringing crafty insinuations against ourselves in reference to the conclusion of peace.

[1] Ep. vi. 30 (63). [2] Ep. vi. 31 (vii. 42).

[3] *Contestatio*: what would have been called in Rome in later centuries a *pasquinade*.

Hereupon all the priests and Levites[1], the generals, the nobles, the clerics, the monks, the soldiers and the people of Ravenna, at home or abroad, are called solemnly to witness that the author of this libel, unless he shall come forth in public and confess his sin, is excluded from participation in the body and blood of Jesus Christ. If he presume to partake thereof after this denunciation, it shall be anathema unto him, and if the unknown writer be a person to whom, in our ignorance, we have sent letters of congratulation[2], the good wishes contained in those letters will be null and void. The only condition upon which the offender can be restored to the communion of the Church, and relieved from this awful curse, is that he shall come forth in public either to prove his assertions or to retract them.'

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? April, 596.

Redemption of captives.

As the ill-timed obstinacy of the Imperial government, backed up as it evidently was by the public opinion of Ravenna, still prevented the conclusion of the peace so necessary for Italy, Gregory exerted himself at least to lessen the miseries of war by promoting the redemption of some out of the many captives carried off in the train of each Lombard army. Writing to his Campanian representative Anthemius, he said[3], 'How great is the sorrow and affliction of our heart, arising from the events which have happened in the regions of Campania, we cannot describe,

April, 596.

[1] Deacons.

[2] Here perhaps Romanus is glanced at; or possibly the new bishop Marinianus, who, though he had once been a friend and fellow-monk of Gregory, had recently incurred his censure (Ep. vi. 30 (63)).

[3] Ep. vi. 35 (32).

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but you will imagine, from the greatness of the calamity. To remedy this, we are sending you money by the hands of Stephen, *Vir magnificus*[1], which we desire you diligently to employ in the immediate liberation of such freemen as are not able to pay their own ransoms, also of all those slaves whose masters are too poor to redeem them, and especially of such slaves on the Church's estates as have perished [fallen into the hands of the enemy] through your negligence. Make a careful list of the names, occupations, dwelling-places, birthplaces, of all whom you redeem. Give your best attention to this work, that those who are to be redeemed may not incur any peril through your negligence, nor you hereafter undergo our vehement displeasure. Especially strive to redeem the captives at as low a price as possible, and send us the list above mentioned with all speed.'

Contributions from Constantinople.

For this pious work of the liberation of captives, Gregory thankfully accepted the help of the powerful and wealthy friends whom he had made at Constantinople. In two letters[2], written about the middle of June 597 to his old allies, Theoctista, the Emperor's sister, and Theodore, his physician[3], he gratefully acknowledges the large sums which they have sent him for the redemption of captives and the relief of the poor. The physician's contribution is not mentioned; that of Theoctista amounted to 30 lbs. of gold (£1200). In his letters to the latter[3], after congratulating her on her generosity, and pitying him-

[1] Probably some person high in the civil service of the Empire.
[2] Ep. vii. 26 (23) and 28 (25).
[3] See p. 295.

self for the added responsibility thus brought upon him, he says:— BOOK VI. CH. 9.

'I will mention to you, however, that from the city of Crotona on the Adriatic, which was taken by the Lombards in the past year, many men and many noble women were led away as booty: and sons were divided from their parents, husbands from their wives: but because they ask heavy ransoms for them, many to this hour have remained among the unutterable Lombards. However, I at once remitted for their liberation half of the money which I received from you, but out of the other half I have arranged to buy bed-clothes for the maids of God (whom you call in Greek *monastriae*), because they suffer sadly from the cold in our City from the scantiness of their bed-clothes. Of these maids there are many in this City, for according to the memorandum of distribution there have been found 3000 of them, and they receive from the Patrimony of St. Peter 80 lbs. (£3200) annually. But what is that among such a multitude, especially in this City, where everything is sold at such a high price? But their life is of such a kind, so strictly passed in fasting and in tears, that we believe if it were not for them, none of us would have been able to exist for so many years between the swords of the Lombards [i.e. we owe our lives to their sanctity and prayers].' 597.

To each of his friends in return for their munificent offerings, Gregory sent his usual present of a golden key which had lain by the body of St. Peter, and which contained some filings from his chains; and to Theoctista he told the story of a miracle



BOOK VI. CH. 9. which connected *her* key with the Lombard king Authari:—

597. The miraculous key. 'A certain Lombard who had entered a city beyond the Po, found this key, and despised it as being a key of St. Peter, but seeing that it was golden desired to make something out of it, and took out his knife that he might cut it. But at once, being arrested by the Spirit, he stuck that same knife into his throat and fell dead the same hour. Autharith [*sic*], king of the Lombards, came up, with many of his men, found the dead man lying on the ground, and the key lying by itself, and they were all at once struck with grievous fear, so that none of them dared to lift that key from the earth. Then a certain Catholic Lombard, Mimiulf by name, who was known to be given to prayer and almsgiving, was called, and he raised it from the ground. But in remembrance of such a miracle, Autharith caused another golden key to be made, and sent it along with this one to my predecessor of blessed memory, relating what a miracle it had wrought. I therefore wished to send it to your Excellency, that the same instrument through which Almighty God killed a proud infidel may bring present and eternal salvation to you who love and fear Him.'

The letter to Theoctista, a very long one, from which these quotations have been made, is also interesting, not only as containing some of Gregory's most beautiful thoughts, and a specimen of his most extravagantly allegorizing[1] interpretation of Scripture,

[1] Gregory describes the two sorts of compunction, a beautiful passage; followed by an absurd bit of allegorizing about Achsah,

but also as giving us a glimpse of the Imperial nursery as presided over by the Patricia, the aunt of the young princes:—

The Imperial nursery.

'I beg also that you will take care to train the little lords whom you are nursing, in excellent morals, and to warn the Glorious Eunuchs, who are charged with their education, to speak to them in such fashion, that their hearts may be softened towards one another in mutual love and tenderness, and that if they have conceived any passion of hatred among themselves, it should not break forth into a quarrel.'

Death of Exarch Romanus, 596-7.

In the same year, probably, in which these letters were written to Constantinople, one great obstacle to peace was removed by the death of the Exarch Romanus[1]. He was succeeded by a man of less

daughter of Caleb, who asked of her father the upper and nether springs (Judges i. 15). Achsah sitting on her ass is the soul presiding over the irrational emotions of the flesh. Zeal for God without the grace of tears is the south land, dry and parched: the upper and nether springs are the two sorts of compunction: the upper springs the tears shed from longing after heaven: the nether springs those which flow from fear of hell, and so on.

[1] That Romanus died at his post and was not recalled we learn from Paulus, H. L. iv. 12. We have no very clear indication of the date of his death. Weise (p. 206) is inclined to place it about April 598, but seems herein to attach too much importance to a statement of Rubeus (of no authority unless we knew whence he derived it) that Romanus died in his tenth year of office. On the other hand, Weise has strangely missed the clear reference to Callinicus in Greg. Ep. vii. 29 (26), a letter which in the M. G. H. is referred to June 597. And it seems probable that Ep. vii. 22 (19) also refers to him. Romanus' death might, I think, have occurred even in 596. Ep. ix. 9 to Callinicus, and Ep. ix. 10 about him to Marinianus, probably belong to May 599. [Hartmann (Gesch. Ital. 111; Untersuchungen, p. 112; and Greg. Ep. vi. 63, note 2, p. 439) puts the death as far back as April 596. He thinks

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He is succeeded by Callinicus.

difficult disposition, and more statesmanlike intellect, whose true name was Callinicus; but it is characteristic of the increasing divergence between the two divisions of the Empire that this regularly formed Greek name, which had been borne by rhetoricians, martyrs, and bishops in the eastern world, was now evidently a stumbling-block to western Romans, and was gradually converted by them into the barbarous Gallicinus[1].

Friendly relations between the Pope and the new Exarch.

Already, in May 597, we find a more hopeful tone in Gregory's letters. Writing[2] to his representative in Sicily, the deacon Cyprian, he mentions the case of a certain Libertinus, *Vir magnificus*, who had apparently filled the office of Praetor of Sicily, and had received a hostile summons to Ravenna, there to give an account of his stewardship. Gregory's language is not very clear, but he seems to say, 'Do not let Libertinus distress himself. We have received a letter from Ravenna which we enclose for your perusal, and which shows that his enemies will not get the upper hand. Bid him therefore to be of good cheer, for we believe that our most excellent son the Exarch will do nothing to grieve him. We did not forget to write about his business; but as the said Exarch is now busied in the valley of the Po, we have

that there was an interval between the death of Romanus and the arrival of his successor—perhaps an interval of several months.]

[1] Which was perhaps supposed to have something to do with cockcrowing. Paulus always calls the Exarch Gallicinus. The Benedictine edition of Gregory's letters has Callicinus, but it appears from M. G. H. that the best MSS. have the correct form Callinicus.

[2] Ep. vii. 22 (19).

not yet received his reply.' There can be little doubt that we are here dealing with a new régime. The Pope's 'most excellent son' is the new and friendly Exarch Callinicus, and his occupations in the valley of the Po have possibly something to do with negotiations for peace.

But all the members of the new Exarch's suite were not equally friendly with himself, and in a letter written about the same time as the last to his old ally the *scholasticus* Andreas at Ravenna, we find Gregory saying[1], 'Moreover, I thank you for putting me on my guard about two persons who have come with the Glorious Callinicus, although we have already had some very disagreeable experience of the person first named by your Excellency. But inasmuch as the times are evil, we bear all things—with a groan.'

Uneventful character of the year 598.

In the year 598 no great change seems to have occurred in the position of affairs. Pope Gregory's letters for this year[2] are few in number, suggesting the probability that communications with the other parts of Italy may have been unusually disturbed by hovering swarms of Lombards. Certainly the language employed by the Pope to the bishop of Terracina[3] shows that the inhabitants of that city, though only sixty miles from Rome, and close to the

Gregory's letter to the bishop of Terracina;

[1] Ep. vii. 29 (26).

[2] Strictly speaking, not for the year 598, but for the First Indiction, Sept. 1, 597–Aug. 31, 598. The number of letters for this year in the Benedictine edition is thirty-five, the smallest for any except the last, 603–604, which was cut short by Gregory's death. The average number for each year (excluding the last) is sixty-three.

[3] Ep. viii. 18.

BOOK VI. CH. 9. 598. friendly sea, were still harassed by war's alarms:—'We have heard that many are excusing themselves from sentry duty on the walls: and we therefore wish you to take anxious heed that no one, either in our own name or in that of the Church, obtains exemption from this duty, but that all collectively be compelled to undertake it: so that by the vigilance of all, and by Divine help, the guarding of the city may be secured.'

In the midst of all the terror which filled the rest of Italy, the City of Rome itself remained not only unharmed, but apparently unmenaced; an immunity which was doubtless due to the spiritual ascendency which Gregory had obtained over the minds of Ariulf and Agilulf. This special security granted to Rome is much insisted upon by the Pope in a letter written

to Rusticiana. in the summer of 598 to Rusticiana, a great lady of Constantinople[1]. He thanks her for the 10 lbs. of gold (£400) which she has sent him for the redemption of captives. He gently chides her for tarrying so long at Constantinople, and postponing indefinitely her visit to Rome, 'a visit which would greatly redound to her profit hereafter in the life eternal[2].' (And here we observe in passing that Rome, the Babylon of the Apocalypse, which was to become the hold of every unclean and hateful bird, is already, by the end of the sixth century, become a sacred City, a pilgrimage to which confers spiritual benefits on the traveller.) 'The Gospel orders us,' says Gregory, 'to love even our

[1] She is addressed as Patricia, viii. 22.

[2] 'Quantum enim ad colligendas aeternae vitae mercedes vestrae animae expedire possit.'

enemies. Think then what a grave fault it must be to love too little those who love us. Your servant will tell you how great desire we all have to behold your face. If any one tells us that he loves us, we know very well that no one loves those whom he does not care to visit. But if you are afraid of the swords and the wars of Italy, you ought to see for yourself how great is the protection vouchsafed by Peter, prince of Apostles, to this City, in which, without any great number of people, and without help from soldiers, we have by God's help been preserved for so many years unhurt between the swords of the enemy. All this we say to you because we love you. May Almighty God grant you whatsoever He may see to be for the everlasting benefit of your soul, as well as for the present reputation of your household.'

The peace negotiations prosper.

In the autumn of 598 the long pending negotiations for peace at length began to assume a favourable aspect. Gregory's representative at the Lombard court was now the abbot Probus[1], and the Pope heard from him in the month of September that the terms of the peace might be considered as settled, both King and Exarch having given their consent. Our chief information as to this crisis of the negotiations is derived, curiously enough, from a letter of the Pope to Januarius, bishop of Sardinia[2]. That strange and silly old man had not only to be restrained from sallying forth from his cathedral just after the celebration

Warning to the bishop of Sardinia.

[1] We get the name of Probus from Ep. ix. 43 and 98. He is only spoken of as the abbot in Ep. ix. 4.

[2] Ep. ix. 4.

BOOK VI. CH. 9. 598. of mass to plough up his neighbour's harvest-field[1]—but also to be warned of the continued necessity of vigilance against the Lombards. Both he and Gennadius the Exarch of Africa, to whose province Sardinia belonged, had been already in vain admonished by the Pope to put the island in a proper state of defence; and their carelessness had been punished by an attack of the barbarians (possibly on Caralis[2] the capital), by which, though no permanent settlement had been effected, much injury had been done to the property of the islanders[3]. The Pope expressed his hope that Januarius would learn a lesson from this misadventure, and keep a better guard in future, and he promised that for his part he would omit nothing which might be of service to the islanders in their preparations for defence. 'Know, however,' said he, 'that the abbot, whom a long time ago we sent to Agilulf, has by God's favour arranged a peace with him according to the most excellent Exarch's letters to us. And therefore till the actual signing of the articles for the confirmation of peace, cause the sentinels on your walls to discharge their duty with anxious vigilance, lest by chance in this time of delay our enemies should think to make another visit to your parts. We trust in our Redeemer's power that the assaults or the stratagems of our adversaries will work you no further harm.'

[1] See p. 323. [2] Now Cagliari.

[3] I think we may infer thus much from the words of Gregory, 'Quod si secundum ea quae tam vobis quam excellentissimo filio nostro Gennadio hoc fore nuntiantes scripsimus, sollicitudo fuisset adhibita, inimici illuc aut non accederent, aut accedentes periculum quod fecerunt incurrerent.'

In a later letter[1] the Pope seems to speak of the peace as now actually concluded. But as it was for a limited time—we learn from other sources that it was only concluded for two years—he warns Januarius of the probability that at the end of that time Agilulf would renew the war:—

'As we have no less concern for your safety than for our own, we thought it right at once to point out to you that when this peace is ended, Agilulf, king of the Lombards, will not make [another] peace. Wherefore it is necessary that your Brotherhood, while you still have liberty, should cause your city and other places to be more strongly fortified, and should take care that abundant store of provisions be laid up in them, so that when the enemy, by God's wrath against him, arrives there, he may not find anything that he can injure, but may go away disappointed[2].'

Strange delay at the last in the conclusion of peace.

The peace negotiations seem after all not to have been finally concluded till the spring of 599. The reason for such an inordinate delay (which reminds us of the prolonged negotiations of Münster or of Utrecht) is partly disclosed to us by a letter of the Pope to Theodore the *Curator* (or, as we should say, the Mayor) of Ravenna[3]. From this we learn that after Agilulf the King and Callinicus the Exarch had been brought to agree as to the terms of peace, a difficulty arose as to its signature on the part of Ariulf

[1] ix. 6.

[2] Weise (p. 208) understands these words of some preliminary peace or truce signed in 598 (of which we have no other information). But it seems to me more natural to understand it of the great peace of 599.

[3] Ep. ix. 98 (44). This letter is assigned by Ewald to October 598.

BOOK VI. CH. 9. 599. and Arichis, the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, and strange to say on the part of Gregory also, who, when the object of his earnest strivings for seven years seemed at length within his grasp, displayed either a strain of morbid conscientiousness left in him by his cloister life, or else an ignoble desire to shield himself from responsibility, and make others his instruments for extracting the advantage by which he was to profit. Whatever the motive, he declined himself to sign the peace, offering one of his suffragan bishops, or at any rate an archdeacon, as a substitute. The part of the letter which is important for our purpose is as follows:—

Gregory's letter to the *Curator* of Ravenna.

'Our *responsales* have always brought us tidings about you which have gladdened our hearts, but now preeminently our son the abbot Probus has told us so much about your Glory's liberal expenditure on behalf of peace, and the earnest desire which you have manifested for the same (a desire which was never displayed by any previous citizen of Ravenna), that we can only pray that your labours for the common weal may be abundantly repaid to your own soul hereafter. We observe therefore that Ariulf has sworn for the preservation of peace not [unconditionally] as his king swore, but only on condition (1) that there shall be no act of violence committed against him, and (2) that no one shall march against the army of Arichis[1]. As this is altogether unfair and deceitful,

[1] 'Indicamus itaque Ariulfum de servandâ pace, non ut rex ipsius juravit, sed sub conditione si sibi in quoquam excessum non fuerit, aut si nullus contra Arogis exercitum ambulaverit, sacramenta praestitisse.'

we look upon the case precisely as if he had not sworn at all, for 'he will always find for himself on some small point an excuse for breaking his covenant[1],' and the less suspicious we are of him the more easily he will deceive us. Warnilfrida too, by whose counsel, or as I might say no-counsel[2], Ariulf is ruled in all things, absolutely refused to swear. And thus it has come to pass that from that peace from which we expected so much, we in these parts shall receive practically no remedy, because the enemies by whom we have hitherto been chiefly suspected will in future continue to suspect us.

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'Your Glory ought also to know that the king's men who have been passed on hither insist that we ought to sign the agreement for peace. But remembering the reproaches which Agilulf is said to have addressed to Basilius, *Vir clarissimus*, tending through us to the injury of blessed Peter (though Agilulf himself entirely denies having thus spoken), we nevertheless decide to abstain from signing, lest we who have been suitors and mediators between him and our most excellent son the lord Exarch, if by chance anything is privately carried off[3], should seem to fail in any point, and so our own promise should be brought into doubt. Thus should any similar occasion arise in future (which God forbid), he will make an excuse for not granting our petition. We therefore beg of you, as we have already begged of our aforesaid most Excellent son, that you will, with your wonted goodness to us, bring it to pass that when the king's men return from Arichis he shall

[1] ['Quia in aliquid parum (*read*, parvum) facilem sibi excedendi occasionem inveniet.']

[2] 'Ad cujus non consilium.' [3] 'Si quid forte clam sublatum fuerit.'

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speedily send them writings which are to be brought to us, and in which he shall command them not to ask for our signature. If that be conceded we will cause our brother Gloriosus[1], or one of the bishops, or at any rate an archdeacon, to sign the pact.'

Gregory's distrust of Ariulf.

In reading this letter we cannot but be struck by the distrust of Ariulf which is evidently displayed by the Pope. Had he himself come round to the opinion of the Emperor and did he look upon himself as *fatuus* for having seven years before listened to the fair words of the duke of Spoleto? The Pope's relations with King Agilulf, too, seem far from friendly. The *Vir clarissimus* Basilius, whoever he may have been—probably some great Byzantine official—had made mischief between King and Pontiff by repeating some unguarded words of the former which Gregory chose to understand as reflecting injuriously on his honour, and through him on that of the blessed Peter.

Peace concluded 599.

But this was not the permanent relation of the two potentates. The influence of the devout Theudelinda was being ever exerted to smooth away asperities and to make her husband and her unknown friend Gregory kindly disposed one towards the other. It was probably through her influence that the difficulties which had arisen at the last moment, and which seemed so menacing, were smoothed away. The dukes of Spoleto and Benevento must have been persuaded to acquiesce in the proposed arrangement; the Pope's guarantee must have been either obtained or dispensed with. In some way or other the weary negotiations were brought to a close and peace was concluded between Agilulf and Callinicus.

[1] No doubt Gloriosus, bishop of Ostia.

This chapter, devoted to the story of a peace which formed a turning-point in the history of Lombard Italy, may be fittingly ended by a translation of the two letters which the Pope addressed shortly before the conclusion of the peace to the king and queen of the Lombards[1].

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'To Agilulf, king of the Lombards[2]:—

Gregory's letter to Agilulf;

'We render thanks to your Excellency that you have heard our petition, and justified the confidence which we had in you, by arranging a peace which will be profitable to both parties. Wherefore we greatly praise the wisdom and goodness of your Excellency, because in loving peace you have proved that you love God who is the author of peace. For if it had unhappily not been made, what else could have followed but the sin and danger of both parties, accompanied by the shedding of the blood of the miserable peasants whose labour is serviceable to both? But in order that we may *feel* that peace, as you have made it, we pray, while saluting you with fatherly love—that whenever opportunity offers, you will by your letters order your Dukes who are commanding in various districts, but especially in these parts, to keep this peace in its integrity, according to your promise, and not to look out for occasions of strife or unpleasantness. Thus doing you will earn from us yet ampler gratitude.

'We have received the bearers of these presents, as being truly your servants, with proper affection:

[1] According to Ewald's arrangement these letters were written in December, 598. Probably the hitch in the negotiations described above postponed the formal conclusion of the peace for some months after Gregory had deemed it sufficiently secure to write these letters.

[2] Ep. ix. 42.

BOOK VI. Ch. 9. since it was right that we should give a loving greeting and farewell to wise men who announced
598. the peace made by the favour of Almighty God.'

Gregory to Theudelinda.

'To Theudelinda, queen of the Lombards[1] :—

'We have learned, by the report of our son the abbot Probus, how kindly and zealously, according to your wont, you have exerted yourself for the conclusion of peace. We knew that we might reckon on your Christianity for this, that you would by all means apply your labour and your goodness to the cause of peace. Therefore we render thanks to Almighty God, who has so ruled your heart as not only to bestow on you the true faith, but to cause you to accomplish His own decrees.

'Do not think, most excellent daughter, that it is any trifling reward which you will reap from staying the effusion of blood on both sides. Therefore while thanking you for your willing help in this thing, we pray our compassionate God to give you His recompense for your good deeds both in body and soul, both here and hereafter.

'Saluting you, moreover, with fatherly love, we exhort you to use your influence with your most excellent consort that he may not reject the alliance of the Christian Republic. For, as we think you know, it is in many ways expedient that he should be willing to accept its friendship. Do you therefore, according to your custom, ever study all that tends to grace and the reconciliation of foes, and when you have such an opportunity of earning reward, labour that you may yet more conspicuously recommend your good deeds before the eyes of Almighty God.'

[1] Ep. ix. 43.

CHAPTER X.

THE LAST YEARS OF GREGORY.

Sources:—Gregorii Epistolae. Lives of Pope Gregory by Paulus Diaconus and Joannes Diaconus.

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Importance of the peace of 599.

The peace of 599, though not final, marks the transition to a different, and more settled, state of affairs in Italy. Hitherto war had been the normal relation between the Empire and the Lombard invaders: henceforward peace, though doubtless a turbulent and often interrupted peace, prevailed. Both Empire and Papacy now recognised the fact that the presence of the intruders, however unwelcome and 'unspeakable' they might be, was no mere passing misery; that there was no hope of expelling them from the peninsula; little prospect even of inducing them to accept the nominal subordination of *foederati*; that they were settled in Italy as the Franks and Burgundians were settled in Gaul, and the Visigoths in Spain; and that the only thing now to be done was to defend the fragments of coast line, and the chain of posts along the Flaminian Way, which still owned the sway of the Roman Republic.

It would seem therefore that no more fitting place could be found for ending the history of Lombard Invasion, and beginning that of Lombard Rule in Italy, than this same year 599, which has also the advantage of coming at the close of a century. But

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there are two men, an Emperor and a Pope, whose names have occurred so frequently in my later pages, that for their sakes I shall include in this period the few years by which their lives overlap the six hundredth year from the birth of Christ [1].

The Empire and the Avars.

One consideration, which probably weighed with the Emperor in favour of the peace so long urged by Gregory, and so long refused by him, was the fact that the Avars, those Huns of the sixth century, were keeping up desultory but worrying hostilities in the provinces south of the Danube; twice besieging the key-city of Singidunum (*Belgrade*), invading Dalmatia, and on one occasion (597) penetrating as far south as Thessalonica [2]. There was probably some connection between these invasions and an embassy which the great Chagan of the Avars sent to Milan in order to 'make peace,' by which we are probably to understand a treaty of alliance with King Agilulf [3]. The movements of these Tartar swarms evidently exercised a powerful influence on the politics of Europe at this time, and, as in the days of Attila, a century and a half previously, inclined the earlier invaders of the Empire to seek for peace with one another and with 'the Republic.' Issuing westwards from their quarters in Pannonia, they invaded Thuringia, and waged grievous war with the Franks, who were now over-lords of that country [4].

[1] The Emperor Maurice died in 602; and Pope Gregory I in 604.

[2] Bury, ii. 126–142.

[3] 'Per idem tempus' (this may mean any time between 593 and 600) 'Cacanus rex Hunnorum legatos ad Agilulfum Mediolanum mittens pacem cum eo fecit' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 12).

[4] 'Hunni quoque qui et Abares dicuntur a Pannonia in Turingam

Peace between Lombards and Franks.

As with the Empire so also with the Franks, harassed by these sons of the wilderness, King Agilulf concluded a treaty of peace which was perhaps in their case a treaty of alliance. As we have seen, all the kings of the Franks were now in their infancy. Guntram, the uncle, king of Burgundy, had died in 593: Childebert, the nephew, in 596. His two children, Theudebert II and Theodoric II, ruled in Austrasia and Burgundy. Their grandmother Brunichildis, expelled from Austrasia by the nobles, swayed the sceptre of Burgundy as regent over her infant grandson, and it was of course by her influence, though in the name of Theodoric, that a 'perpetual' peace was concluded between the Lombards and the Franks of the southern kingdom[1].

Rebellion of three dukes of the Lombards.

The Lombard king had in truth need of peace with his foreign foes in order to deal with domestic treason[2]. Or perhaps we should state cause and effect in a different relation, and say that the conclusion of peace and the relaxation of the grasp on the forces of the State which the 'war-power' gave to the king, brought its opportunity to rebellion. Three dukes revolted: the irrepressible Gaidulf of Bergamo, already twice

ingressi bella gravissima cum Francis gesserunt' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 11). As Agilulf was a Thuringian by birth, he was perhaps at this time hostile to the Avars, and this may account for the expression 'pacem cum eo fecit' (already quoted) which is used of the Chagan in the following section.

[1] 'Hoc etiam tempore Agilulf cum Theodorico Francorum rege pacem perpetuam fecit' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 13).

[2] 'Post haec Ago rex rebellantem sibi Zangrulfum Veronensium ducem extinxit. Gaidulfum quoque Pergamensem ducem cui jam bis pepercerat peremit. Pari etiam modo et Warnecautium aput Ticinum occidit' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 13). It will be noticed that Paulus does not distinctly say that Warnecaut was duke of Ticinum, nor is it easy to see how there could be a duke of the city which was the royal residence.

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pardoned; Zangrulf of Verona, and Warnecaut, who was perhaps duke of Pavia. All were defeated and slain by the energetic Agilulf, who wisely forbore from leaving Gaidulf under temptation to a fourth act of treason[1].

Gregory's epistolary activity.

To Gregory the conclusion of the long wished for peace brought in one sense rest, in another an immense increase of labour. Now was the time, when the roads were clear, and the Papal messengers could travel in safety, to order the affairs of the Churches, many of which had been lapsing into anarchy under the pressure of the times. Never probably, during the whole pontificate of Gregory, was the Papal chancery so busy as during this year of restored peace, 598–599. Of the 851 letters which make up the collection *Gregorii Epistolae*, 238, or more than one quarter of the whole, belong to this year[2].

A great number of these letters are addressed to the *defensores*, and relate to disputes about boundaries, the recovery of fugitive slaves, the administration of the estates of deceased persons, and matters of that kind. Many also are addressed to the sub-deacons,

His letters to Sicily;

who had charge of the Papal Patrimony. The affairs of Sicily occupied a large amount of the Pope's attention, now no longer fixed with anxious gaze upon 'the

to Naples;

swords of the Lombards.' In Naples party-spirit

[1] Weise (p. 183), on purely *a priori* grounds, transfers this revolt of the three dukes to 593–594, and makes it the cause of Agilulf's raising the siege of Rome. I see no sufficient reason for departing from the order of events given us by Paulus.

[2] This is according to Ewald's 'reconstruction' (pp. 568 and 575–578). The reasons for this conclusion, startling as it is, appear to me convincing. Even the Benedictine editors allow 127 letters to this year, about twice the average of the other

was running high between two groups of citizens, and a grasping bishop was claiming privileges which properly belonged to the 'patron' of the city. In Gaul there were the ever-recurring difficulties, the licentious lives of the clergy, the wide prevalence of simony, the impossibility of getting the bishops to assemble in a synod; an impossibility which was probably due to the fact that the majority of them were conscious of deeds of their own, which would not bear the light of a judicial investigation. These are some of the subjects which were touched upon in the 240 letters of 'the Second Indiction[1].'

598. to Gaul.

His love for Italy.

In one letter[2] addressed by the Pope to the paymaster[3] Donellus, entreating him to come without delay and pay the half-mutinous garrison of Rome their wages, we have a sentence which sounds like the sigh of an Italian patriot of our own times under Austrian

books. The following is an approximate list of the letters in 598–599, according to Ewald:—

	R.	C.	
September . . .	1	10 . . .	= 11
October	12	23 . . .	= 35
November . . .	6	13 . . .	= 19
December . . .	4	15 . . .	= 19
January	6	12 . . .	= 18
February	6	3 . . .	= 9
March	1	6 (?) . . .	= 7
April	4	13 (?) . . .	= 17
May	13	11 . . .	= 24
June	3	3 (?) . . .	= 6
July	32	27 . . .	= 59
August	7	7 . . .	= 14
	95	143	238

[1] Sept. 1, 598–August 31, 599.

[2] Ep. ix. 124.

[3] *Erogator.*

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domination. 'We grieve to hear that you have been troubled by sickness: but we trust in the Divine compassion that *He, who has made you to love our miserable and depressed Italy*[1], will both restore to you bodily health, and reward you with eternal life.'

Ravages of pestilence.

The same letter concludes—'The city of Rome, doubtless owing to our sins, is so reduced by the languor of various diseases, that there are hardly men enough left to guard the walls.' And in another letter of about the same date[2], the Pope says:—'Such grievous febrile languors have attacked the clergy and people of this city, that scarce any man remains, free or slave, able to undertake any charge or duty. From the neighbouring cities also we hear daily reports of destructive mortality. And how Africa is being wasted by disease and death you doubtless know more accurately than we, as being closer to the scene of events. They, too, who come from the East report yet more terrible desolations there. All these things point to the approaching end of the world.' We hear from Paulus[3] that this pestilence was especially severe at Ravenna and all along the sea-coast (probably therefore ravaging Roman Italy more grievously than the mountainous interior which was in the hands of the Lombards); and that in the following year[4] terrible mortality laid waste the inhabitants of the district round Verona.

Gregory's sickness.

Gregory himself, though he apparently escaped the fever, was more cruelly than ever racked by gout.

[1] 'Qui vos miseram et dejectam diligere fecit Italiam.'

[2] Ep. ix. 123 to the Patrician Venantius and his wife Italica (in Sicily).

[3] H. L. iv. 14.

[4] Probably 600.

We may perhaps infer that the busy energy of the summer of 599, during all of which time he was fighting against this persistent enemy, brought him at last to so low a point that work became almost impossible; for the 240 letters of 'the Second Indiction' are succeeded by only twenty letters in the following year; one of the poorest harvests in the whole collection. He himself says to his correspondents [1] in Sicily, 'For my sins I have now for eleven months been able only very rarely to rise from my bed. Such are the pains inflicted upon me by gout and other infirmities, that life is to me the heaviest of punishments. Every day I faint with the pain and wait with sighing for the remedy of death.' And again, in a later letter [2], addressed to the Patriarch of Alexandria, he says:—

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599.

July, 600.

'I received last year the very sweet letters of your Holiness, which I have not hitherto been able to answer, on account of my exceeding sickness. For behold! it is now all but two years that I have been confined to my bed, and so tortured with the pains of gout, that scarcely on festival days have I been able to rise for the space of three hours to celebrate the rites of the Mass. Then I am forced to lie down, in such severe pain, that only an occasional groan enables me to bear my agony. This pain in my case is sometimes gentle, sometimes intense, but never so gentle as to depart, nor so intense as to kill me. Hence I am daily dying, and daily driven back from death.'

The two years of peace.

So the two years of peace wore away in Italy. There were fears of an invasion of Alamanni [3], but

[1] Ep. ix. 123 (August, 599). [2] Ep. x. 35.

[3] Greg. Ep. x. 29 (May, 600) to Constantius, bishop of Milan: 'De Alamannis autem quod vobis indicatum est, nos et longius

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they were not fulfilled. The dukes of Benevento and Spoleto seem to have come in to the peace, and to have lived on friendly terms with their Roman neighbour. It is even thought by some that Arichis, the duke of Benevento, renounced his Arianism, and became a member of the Catholic Church; but this is perhaps too large an inference to draw from the fact that in the only letter which the Pope addressed to him[1], and which was probably written in the year 599, he accosts him 'as in truth our son[2].'

Did Arichis become a Catholic?

Abduction of Agilulf's daughter and son-in-law by the Exarch, March, 601.

At length the two years' peace came to an end. Notwithstanding the anxious fears of Pope Gregory, it would perhaps have been renewed by Agilulf, but for the perfidious act of the Exarch, who thought by the seizure of a hostage to force the Lombard king to renew the peace on less favourable terms. A daughter of Agilulf by his first wife was dwelling with her husband Gottschalk[3] at Parma, of which place Gottschalk was probably duke. It may have been owing to the security born of the two years' peace (though we are not expressly told that this was the case), that the princely couple were taken unawares by the soldiers of Callinicus, who suddenly

quam vos positi sumus, et quod verum non sit minime dubitamus. Vestra tamen Fraternitas bene fecit pro informatione nostra scribere quod audivit.'

[1] Ep. xii. 21. This is one of the C. letters, whose date is least clearly established.

[2] 'Quia sic de gloria vestra sicut revera de filio nostro confidimus.' The object of the letter was to ask for help in carting timber from the forests of Bruttii to the sea, for use in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. It is to be observed that in the letter to Theudelinda, xiv. 12, Gregory speaks of 'excellentissimo *filio nostro* regi conjugi vestro,' though it is almost certain that at that time Agilulf was still an Arian.

[3] Gudiscalcus.

appeared before the city, and carried them off to Ravenna[1]. BOOK VI. CH. 10.

It seems to have been a felon stroke, and it utterly missed its aim. Far from being intimidated by his daughter's danger, Agilulf was roused to a more vigorous prosecution of the war. He made overtures for a fresh league with the Chagan of the terrible Avars, and sent him shipwrights, from the Italian ports under his sway, to help him to construct ships for warlike operations against Thrace. Agilulf himself then moved against the great city of Patavium (*Padua*), which till this time had successfully resisted the arms of the Lombards. He succeeded in kindling a conflagration by means of fiery bolts hurled into the city. The garrison saw that they could no longer hold the place, and surrendered to Agilulf, who, honouring their bravery, allowed them to depart uninjured to Ravenna. The city itself, we are told, was levelled with the ground; the second time within two centuries that this fate had befallen the proud city of Livy[2].

601. Agilulf's revenge.

Capture of Padua.

At this time the ambassadors who had been sent to the Chagan of the Avars returned, announcing that he had graciously concluded a perpetual peace with the Lombards. The great barbarian sent also an ambassador of his own, who proceeded to the courts of the Frankish kings, and announced to them his master's pleasure that they should dwell at peace with his Lombard friend.

Alliance with the Avars.

The next year was a prosperous one for Agilulf. 602.

[1] Paulus, H. L. iv. 20.

[2] The first destruction was in 452, by Order of Attila (see vol. ii. p. 153, 2nd edition).

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Istria ravaged, Mons Silicis captured.

The Lombards, with their Avar and Sclavonic allies, entered Istria, which they laid waste with fire and sword[1]. In the Po valley, the arms of the Lombards achieved a signal success by the reduction of the Mountain of Flint (*Monselice*), which had been one of the few islands rising above the flood of barbarian conquest.

Birth of an heir. He receives Catholic baptism, 603.

There was great joy also in the new palace at Modicia (*Monza*), which Queen Theudelinda had built and adorned with paintings of the victories of the Lombards[2]. Here in this barbaric Versailles, Queen Theudelinda, after eleven years of married life, gave birth to her firstborn son, who was named Adalwald, and who was baptized[3] according to the Catholic rite by Secundus of Trient, the historian to whom Paulus was indebted for most of his knowledge of this period. This was a signal triumph for Catholicism. Agilulf's predecessor had sternly forbidden the Lombard nobles to have their children baptized by Catholic bishops, and now King Agilulf himself, though probably still making profession of Arianism, permitted his own son to be held over the baptismal font by a Catholic ecclesiastic.

[1] This Istrian raid may have been in 601. The notes of time in Paulus are very indistinct.

[2] 'Ibi [in Modiciâ] etiam praefata regina sibi palatium condidit in quo aliquid et de Langobardorum gestis depingi fecit' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 22). Then follows the passage quoted in a previous chapter as to the Lombard dress. See p. 154.

[3] Probably the baptism took place on Easter Sunday, the 7th of April, 603, but this is not quite distinctly stated by Paulus; who, after describing the baptism, says (H. L. iv. 27), 'Fuit autem festi pascalis dies eo tempore septimo Idus Aprilis.' This might be a mere chronological note as to the occurrence of Easter in that year.

The year of Adalwald's birth also witnessed the reconciliation of the two great dukes, Gaidwald of Trient, and Gisulf of Friuli, who had before been estranged from Agilulf, if not actually in rebellion against him, but who now came in and submitted themselves to his rule[1].

602.

Dukes of Trient and Friuli reconciled to Agilulf, 602.

Meanwhile there was a change in the occupants of the Imperial palace at Constantinople and of the Exarch's palace at Ravenna. The year 602 saw the downfall of the Emperor Maurice, with circumstances which will shortly be related, and also saw the removal of Callinicus, who was replaced as Exarch by Smaragdus, the same capable, but somewhat headstrong official, who had been recalled from Ravenna thirteen years before[2] for his too harsh treatment of the Istrian schismatics. The recall of Callinicus at this juncture may have been connected with the revolution at Constantinople[3], but seems sufficiently accounted for by the conspicuous failure of his dastardly blow at the family of the Lombard king, and by an actual defeat which he is said to have suffered under the walls of Ravenna[4].

Exarch Callinicus succeeded by Smaragdus (a second time Exarch), 602.

The change of rulers did not, however, make any difference in the fortunes of the war. The year 603

Triumphant career of Agilulf, 603.

[1] 'Hoc anno Gaidoaldus dux de Tridento et Gisulfus de Forojuli cum antea a regis Agilulfi societate discordarent, ab eo in pace recepti sunt' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 27).

[2] In 589. See p. 263.

[3] This is Weise's conjecture (p. 240). He assigns the date 603 for the change of Exarch, on insufficient grounds as it seems to me.

[4] 'Per idem tempus, repulso apud Ravennam Gallicino, rediit Smaracdus, qui prius fuerat Ravennae patricius' (Paulus, H. L. iv. 25).

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beheld the most triumphant of all the campaigns of Agilulf. Going forth from Milan in the month of July, he laid siege to the city of Cremona. There were among his troops a number of Sclavonic barbarians, whom his great ally, the Chagan of the Avars, had sent to serve under his banners. On the 21st of August Cremona was taken, and, according to Paulus, was levelled with the ground[1]. It is hardly likely, however, that the Lombard king would thus utterly destroy a large and wealthy city just added to his dominions. It seems more probable that it was only the fortifications that were destroyed, as in the case of the African cities taken by Gaiseric[2]. From Cremona he marched against its old neighbour Mantua, beat down its walls with battering-rams, and entered the city on the 13th of September, having admitted the garrison to an honourable surrender, and allowed them to return to Ravenna. He also captured the little town of Vulturina, the position of which is unknown, but which was probably situated upon the northern bank of the Po, not far from Parma, for we are told that the garrison in their flight from Vulturina set the town of Brixellum on fire[3]. Brixellum (now *Brescello*) was the town on the south bank of the Po, about ten miles from Parma, which, as the reader may remember, the Alaman Droctulf had long held for the Empire against the Lombards. It was, however, at last surrendered to

Capture of Cremona

and Mantua.

Brixellum burned by the Imperialists.

[1] 'Et cepit eam [Cremonam] duodecimo Kalendas Septembris et ad solum usque destruxit' (H. L. iv. 28).

[2] This is the opinion of Canon Lupi: Codex Diplomaticus Bergomatis, i. 197. The same remark applies to the destruction of Padua mentioned a little before.

[3] Waitz says that Vulturina = Valdoria; but where is Valdoria?

King Authari, and, as a Lombard town, was now set on fire by the fleeing garrison of Vulturina.

603. Peace made on the basis of *uti possidetis*.

The fortune of war was so evidently going against the Imperial arms that, in September of this year, Smaragdus was glad to make peace with Agilulf. Hostilities were to cease for eighteen months, till the 1st of April, 605. King Agilulf evidently retained all his conquests, and—most striking confession of Imperial failure—his daughter was restored with her husband and children. The princess returned to her home at Parma, but the story of her captivity had an unhappy ending. She died in child-bed almost immediately after her return from Ravenna. Would that we knew more of this strange and pathetic little incident in the meagre annals of the time! The princess, whose very name is hidden from us, dwelt probably for two years and a half with her husband and children in captivity at Ravenna. How gladly would we hear something of the effect which the imperial and ecclesiastical splendours of the city by the Ronco produced on the daughter of the Thuringians; of her relations with the two Exarchs who successively ruled there; of the terms of her captivity, whether easy or severe; of the Exarch's announcement to her that she was free; of the scene of her restoration to her father's arms, and of his emotions when he heard that a mightier than the Exarch had carried her off into the captivity from which there is no returning!

Return of Agilulf's daughter.

Her death.

Lombard frontier extended.

The total effect of these operations of 601–603 was greatly to enlarge the Lombard boundary. The whole valley of the Po was now in the possession of the invaders; the communication by land with the cities of the Venetian lagunes was cut off; there was now

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no Imperial city of importance in Italy north of the latitude of Ravenna. No change of frontier occurred for a generation of equal extent with that which followed on the abduction of the daughter of Agilulf.

We have followed the course of events in Italy down to the autumn of 603; but we must now return to the close of the preceding year in order to notice the revolution which, in November, 602, was accomplished at Constantinople.

Affairs at Constantinople.

Character of Maurice.

From his correspondence with Gregory, the reader will probably have already formed a fair estimate of the character of Flavius Tiberius Mauricius Augustus. He was neither a bad nor a foolish man, but he often did the right things in the wrong way, and he had not that power of achieving personal popularity which has been possessed by many rulers of far inferior capacity. A skilful general and author of a book of some authority on Strategics, Maurice was nevertheless unpopular with the army. An orthodox Churchman, he, nevertheless, on account of his quarrel with Pope Gregory, earned a bad name in ecclesiastical history. Inheriting an exhausted treasury from his lavish predecessor Tiberius, he failed to make his subjects understand that 'his poverty, and not his will, consented' to retrenchments which they thought mean and unworthy of the Imperial dignity. In civic politics Maurice leaned to the faction of the Blues, which seems to have been weaker than that of the Greens, and at a critical period of the revolution he unwisely armed both factions in order to form a city-guard against the mutinous soldiers. The remote cause of his downfall appears to have been his refusal (in the year 600) to ransom 12,000 soldiers

(possibly deserters), who were in the power of the Chagan of the Avars, and who, being unransomed, were put to death by the barbarian. This refusal, which was perhaps due in part to absolute poverty, in part to notions of military discipline, like those which prompted the well-known speech of Regulus to the Roman Senate, sank deep into the hearts of the soldiery; and when, in 602, Maurice issued orders that to save the expense of their rations the Danubian army should spend the winter in the cold and inhospitable regions inhabited by the Sclavonians, the long-suppressed anger of the legions burst into a flame. They defied the Emperor's power, refused to cross the Danube, and raising one of their officers, the centurion Phocas, on a shield, after the fashion of the barbarians, they saluted him, not indeed as yet with the title of Imperator, but with the only less splendid name of Exarch[1].

Mutiny of the troops on the Danube, 602.

The full details of the revolution need not be given here, as they belong rather to the history of the East than of Italy, and they have been already to some extent anticipated in connexion with the history of Germanus Postumus, the great-grandson of Theodoric, and the great-nephew of Justinian, who was for a time an unwilling candidate for the Imperial dignity, but who was eventually put to death by the usurper, after he had used that venerated name as a cloak for his own ambition[2].

It may not, however, be out of place to give the outlines of the story of the fall of Maurice as it is told

[1] Observe this use of the title which was borne by the governor of Italy.

[2] See vol. iv. pp. 642–644.

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by Joannes Diaconus, who probably preserves that version which early obtained credence in Italy.

Italian version of the fall of Maurice.

Through the barbarous and obscure Latinity of the biographer we can discern something of the internal struggle in the Emperor's mind, distracted between his duty to the State and his fear for the safety of his soul if he continued in opposition to the Pope. 'Most covetous and most tenacious of Emperors,' (says the Deacon),—Maurice perceived that Gregory, who had been raised to the pontificate by his vote, no longer needed the Emperor's defence against the tumults of the time, but relied on spiritual help, on the force of the canon law, on his own holiness and prudence to overcome the dangers by which he was surrounded. While partly admiring his courage, Maurice was drawn away more and more to hatred and detraction of the great Pontiff, and at length wrote him that sharp letter of rebuke for wasting the stores of corn [and listening to the peace propositions of Ariulf], to which Gregory replied in the famous letter beginning 'In serenissimis jussionibus,' which was quoted in an earlier chapter[1].

The boldness of this reply moved Maurice both to admiration and to anger, and he would probably have proceeded to some act of tyrannical oppression against the Pope, but for a strange scene which was enacted in the streets of Constantinople. A certain man, clothed in monastic garb, and endued with superhuman energy, walked, bearing a drawn sword in his hand, from the Forum to the brazen statue of the gladiator[2], proclaiming to all the bystanders that the Emperor

[1] See p. 382.

[2] Where was this? Does the Forum mean the great Hippodrome?

should die by the sword. (The biographer's manner of telling the story leaves us in doubt whether he is describing a supernatural appearance or the bold deed of some enthusiast [1].) When Maurice heard this prediction he at once forbore all further acts of violence against Gregory, and set himself with earnestness to avert the coming judgment. He sent not only to Gregory, but to all the Patriarchs, bishops, and abbots in his dominions messengers bearing costly gifts, money, tapers, and frankincense, accompanied by his written petition, to which he besought them to add their suffrages, that it would please God to punish him for his sins in this life, and to deliver him from endless torment. This for long was the burden of his tearful prayer. At length one night in his slumbers he saw himself standing with a great multitude by the brazen statue of the Saviour, at the brazen gate of the palace. Lo! a voice, a terrible voice, issued from the mouth of the Incarnate Word, 'Bring Maurice hither [2]'; and the ministers of judgment brought him, and laid him down before the Judge [3]. With the same terrible voice the statue said, 'Where dost thou wish that I should requite to thee the ills that thou hast wrought in this world?' 'Oh! Lover of men,' the Emperor answered, 'Oh! Lord, and righteous Judge, requite me here, and not in the world to come.' At once the divine voice ordered that 'Maurice and his

[1] In this the story resembles that of the midnight summons to James IV from the city cross of Edinburgh before the battle of Flodden.

[2] 'Date Mauricium.'

[3] 'Et capientes eum judiciorum ministri posuerunt *juxta pueri umbilicum qui illic erat.*' I am quite unable to understand these last words.

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wife Constantina, with their sons and daughters, and all their kinship, should be handed over to *Phocas the soldier*.' When the Emperor awoke, he sent a chamberlain to summon his son-in-law Philippicus, whom he had long suspected of treasonable designs upon the throne. Philippicus came in, trembling, having taken, as he supposed, a last embrace of his wife Gordia, and having fortified himself with the Holy Communion. When he entered the Emperor's sleeping apartment, and, according to custom, prostrated himself at his feet, Maurice raised him up, and, performing the same prostration, said, 'Pardon me, I pray, for I now know, by a revelation from God, that thou hast harboured none of the evil designs against me, of which I suspected thee. But tell me if in all our armies thou knowest a man who passes by the name of *Phocas*.' Then Philippicus, after long musing, answered, 'One man called Phocas I do know, who was lately named *procurator* by the army, and who was murmuring against your rule.' 'What manner of man is he?' said the Emperor. 'Young and rash,' answered Philippicus, 'but timid withal.' Then said Maurice, 'If he is timid, he will also be a murderer.'

While he was still in doubt and fear over this business an Imperial messenger[1] brought back the answer of some holy hermits to whom he had been sent—'God has accepted thy repentance. Thou and all thy house shall be saved, and shall have your dwelling with the saints above, but thou shalt fall from the throne with disgrace and danger.'

When Maurice heard these words he thanked God

[1] *Magistrianus*—a mounted messenger belonging to the staff of the *magister officiorum*; see vol. iii. p. 108.

and continued his acts of penitence. His covetousness, however, he could not eradicate, and thus it came to pass that he ordered his troops to winter in perilous places, crossing over the Danube to seek their food at the risk of their lives in the country of the Sclavonians, that they might not eat their rations at the expense of the State. These orders were conveyed to the general Peter (brother of the Emperor), who, summoning his officers[1], said, 'These orders of the Emperor that we should winter in the enemy's country seem to me too hard. I am placed in a most difficult position. Disobedience to orders is disastrous, but obedience seems more disastrous still. Nothing good comes out of avarice, which is the mother of all the vices; and that is the disease under which the Emperor is now suffering, and which makes him the author of such grievous ills to the Romans.'

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Then came, as has been already said, the open mutiny of the army, their elevation of Phocas on the shield, his proclamation as Exarch. The mutineers offered the diadem successively to Theodosius, son of the Emperor, and to Germanus, the father-in-law of Theodosius, who both refused it, and acquainted Maurice with the offer that had been made them. Germanus, however, seeing that he had roused the Emperor's suspicions, took refuge in the church of the Theotokos[2]. Maurice looked upon his son as a traitor, and ordered him to be flogged, and he then sent many persons to draw Germanus forth from the shelter of the church of St. Sophia, to which he had

Phocas proclaimed Exarch.

[1] *Taxiarchi.*

[2] These details are not in Joannes Diaconus, but in Theophanes.

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Flight of Maurice.

removed from that of the Theotokos. The multitude however, would not permit Germanus to be removed, and broke out into shouts of invective against Maurice, calling him a Marcionite heretic[1]. Unnerved by the tumult, Maurice went on board a swift cutter with his wife and children, and reached the sanctuary of the martyr Autonomus, on the Bithynian coast. Meanwhile Phocas arrived at the palace of the Hebdomon, outside the gate of Constantinople, and, after some little dallying and delay, during which the claims of Germanus to the vacant throne were advocated by the Blue faction, Phocas himself was proclaimed Emperor[2].

Phocas Emperor.

Maurice and his sons murdered.

Possibly Maurice might have been left unmolested in his sanctuary, but for the injudicious cry of the offended Blues at the coronation of the new Empress Leontia:—'Begone: understand the position: Maurice is not dead.' An officer was sent to Chalcedon to slay the Emperor and his four younger sons; Theodosius, the eldest, having started on the eastward road to seek the assistance of the Persian king. As each of the young princes yielded up his life, the fallen Emperor, determined to drink the cup of his punishment to the dregs, repeated the verse, 'Thou art just, Oh! Lord, and true are thy judgments.' The youngest of the tribe was but a baby, and the nurse, who was rearing

[1] The theological attainments of the Byzantine mob must have been considerable if they were really acquainted with the name of the second century heretic Marcion, the upholder of St. Paul's doctrine against that of the other apostles, the champion of the benevolent God of the New Testament against the just, but unpitying Demiurgus of the Old.

[2] So far Joannes Diaconus—the rest of the story from Theophylact.

him, with 'splendid mendacity' tried to substitute her own child for the Imperial nurseling, but Maurice, as nobly unselfish, insisted on proclaiming the truth, and gave his own little one to the sword. Last of all, the Emperor himself was slain. His martyr death revealed the essential nobleness of his nature, and seems to demand a merciful judgment on a life marked indeed by many mistakes, but, as far as we can see, stained by no crime. 602.

The young and attractive prince Theodosius, returning from his eastern journey, at its first stage fell into the hands of the usurper's creatures and was slain. The widowed Empress Constantina, her daughters, and Germanus, were put to death about three years afterwards[1]. By the end of 605 there was no scion left of the once flourishing house of Mauricius Augustus.

Villainies of Phocas.

Too soon the soldiers and the people of Constantinople found out the terrible mistake which they had made in exchanging a just and noble-hearted, if somewhat unsympathetic, ruler for that monster of lust and cruelty, the imbecile and brutal Phocas, whose reign is perhaps the darkest page in all the annals of Byzantium. We are indeed bound to read with some caution the character of a monarch, written by the courtiers of the rival who dethroned him. The dynasty of Heraclius, who in 610 ended the horrible nightmare of the reign of Phocas, wore the imperial purple for the greater part of a century; and we, 610–695. therefore, ought to treat the history of Phocas, as told by the meagre historians of that century, in something of the same spirit in which modern critics treat the Tudor historians' description of the deeds

[1] As related in vol. iv. p. 643.

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and character of Richard III; but after every deduction has been made, there can be no doubt that Phocas was a jealous, lecherous and cruel tyrant, besides being intellectually quite unfit to wield the sceptre of a great empire, and that the eight years of his reign were one of the gloomiest and most disastrous periods in Byzantine history.

Tidings of the fall of Maurice reach Rome, 603.

The death of Maurice took place on the 27th of November, 602[1]. Probably some indistinct rumours of the revolution reached Rome before the formal Embassy, but it was on the 25th of April, 603, that the statues of the August Phocas and Leontia were brought to Rome, accompanied by letters in which the crowned trooper addressed the Senate and People of Rome in terms of the utmost condescension. The clergy and the Senate assembled in the great Julian basilica, near the Papal palace of the Lateran, and shouted the customary acclamations to the new Augustus and the new Augusta. The statues were then carried, by order of the Pope, into the oratory of S. Caesarius, on the Palatine, and erected there; and then Pope Gregory sat down to compose his answer to the Imperial proclamation.

Gregory's letter of congratulation to Phocas.

It might have seemed that he had a difficult task before him. He had himself, in the earlier stages of his career, been somewhat indebted to the deceased Emperor's friendship. Of later years it is true that the relations between them had been much strained, and the angry correspondence of the years 595 to 597[2] had apparently been succeeded by an angrier

[1] According to the Paschal chronicle: 26th according to Theophylact: see Bury, ii. 91, note 2.

[2] Some of the letters belonging to this period seem written in

silence. But if the Pope's relations with Maurice himself had of late been hostile, with his family he had ever been on terms of friendship. He had written letters of fatherly love and tenderness to the Empress Constantina; he had raised her eldest son, Theodosius, from the baptismal font; he had interested himself in the education of the little occupants of the Imperial nursery. And now Constantina was in forced seclusion; Theodosius, if yet living, was a fugitive; the other princes, down to the youngest of them, had been slain in their innocent childhood by the order of an usurper. And to that usurper Gregory had now to address congratulatory letters on his accession. As has been already said, the task, to an ordinary man of the world, might have seemed a difficult one. To the infinite disappointment and disgust of all honest champions of the great Pope's reputation, it must be admitted that he found in the task no difficulty at all. He could not rise to the level of the Jewish chieftain who poured forth his glorious song of lamentation over the relentless enemy who had fallen on Mount Gilboa. The thought of the desolate widow and murdered infants seems never to have crossed his mind; he only remembered the slights offered to his priestly dignity, the monarch who had dared to call him *fatuus*; the Patriarch who had used the abhorred word 'oecumenical'; and, because Phocas had trampled on the man who dared to use the one word and to defend the other, he addressed that

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a spirit of amity and goodwill; but upon the whole, considering the conventional courtliness of tone, which all subjects, even the Bishop of Rome, assumed in writing to the Emperor, I think the correspondence may fairly be described as above.

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murderous usurper with Hosannas like those uttered by the crowd at Christ's entry into Jerusalem[1]:—

'Glory to God in the highest—to Him who according to the Scripture changeth times and transferreth kingdoms. For He hath made all men to perceive that which He deigned to speak by the mouth of His prophet:—"The Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will." In the incomprehensible providence of Almighty God the destinies of our mortal lives alternate one with another. Sometimes, when the sins of many have to be punished, one is exalted, by whose sternness the necks of his subjects are pressed under the yoke of tribulation; and this we have experienced in our own long afflictions. Then again, when the merciful God decides to cheer the sorrowing hearts of many by his own consolation, He raises one man to the height of power, by whose tender compassion He pours the oil of His own gladness into the hearts of all men. With this abounding gladness we are persuaded that we shall soon be refreshed, we who do already rejoice that the kindness of your Piety has arrived at the summit of Imperial greatness. "Let the heavens rejoice and let the earth be glad." By your benign actions may all the citizens of our Republic, till now so grievously afflicted, regain their cheerfulness of soul. Under the yoke of your rule may the proud minds of our enemies be pressed down. By your compassion may the contrite and dejected hearts of your subjects be raised up again—may the power of the heavenly grace make you terrible to your enemies; may your piety make you merciful to your subjects. In your most happy days may the whole Republic have rest, an end being put to those ravages of peace which are made under the guise of law. May the ambuscade of testaments, may the pretence of voluntary gifts exacted by violence be done away[2]. Let all men have once again secure possession of their own property, that they may enjoy without trembling that which they have honestly acquired. Under the yoke of a pious Emperor let liberty be fashioned anew for

[1] Ep. xiii. 31.

[2] 'Cessent testamentorum insidiae, donationum gratiae violenter exactae.'

every man [1]. For this it is which makes the difference between the kings of the nations and the Emperors of the Republic, that the former are lords of slaves, and the latter of free men [2].

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'But we can say all this better in prayer than in exhortation. May Almighty God in every thought and word hold the heart of your Piety in the hand of His grace, and whatever is to be done with justice, whatever is to be done with clemency, may the Holy Spirit, inhabiting your breast, direct you to these things, so that your Clemency may be made sublime by your temporal reign, and that after many years have run their course you may attain to the Heavenly Kingdom.'

Appointment of an *apocrisiarius* to the Court of Constantinople.

Again two months later, in sending an '*apocrisiarius*' to represent him at the Imperial Court, the Pope continued in the same strain of virulent abuse of the fallen, and fulsome flattery of the reigning, Emperor [3]:—

'I delight to think, with a grateful heart, what praise is due to Almighty God for removing the yoke of our sadness, and bringing us to days of liberty under the pious rule of your Imperial kindness.

'That your Serenity did not find a deacon from the Apostolic See dwelling in your palace according to ancient custom, must be ascribed not to my negligence, but to our sore need. For as all the ministers of our Church shunned and declined such hard times [as had to be endured by our *apocrisiarius* at Constantinople], I could not lay upon them the burden of going to the royal city to abide in the palace. But as soon as they knew that, by the disposing grace of Almighty God, your Clemency had arrived at the summit of the Empire, they who had hitherto trembled, were now eager in the promptings of their joy, to hasten to your feet. But as some of them are

[1] 'Reformetur jam singulis sub jugo imperii pii libertas sua.' Compare Claudian's 'Nunquam *libertas* gratior exstat Quam sub rege *pio*.'

[2] The same sentence is found in Gregory's letter to the Ex-consul Leontius (x. 51).

[3] Ep. xiii. 38.

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prevented by the infirmity of age, and others by the cares of the Church, from undertaking this duty, I have chosen the bearer of these presents [Bonifacius], who is the first of all our *defensors*, of long tried diligence, and fit by his life, faith, and manners, to wait upon the footsteps of your Piety. I have therefore ordained him deacon, and sent him with all speed, that he may at a fitting time convey to your Clemency tidings of all that is going on here. May your Serenity deign to incline your pious ears to him, and so be the more quickly moved to pity our affliction, by hearing from him the true relation of it. For in what fashion we have now for the long space of thirty-five years been oppressed by the daily swords of the Lombards, and how their inroads have afflicted us, no words of ours are adequate to express[1].

'But we trust in the Almighty Lord, that He will perfect for us those good gifts of His consolation which He has already begun, and that He who has raised up pious rulers for the Republic will also extinguish her cruel foes. May the Holy Trinity long guard your life, that we may have the longer fruition of the blessing of your Piety, which we have so late received.'

Letter to Leontia.

At the same time Gregory wrote thus[2] to the new Empress Leontia, who was inhabiting doubtless the very rooms which had witnessed the orisons of the pious Constantina, and echoed to the prattle of the children whom the husband of Leontia had murdered :—

'What tongue can utter, what heart can conceive, the thanks which we owe to Almighty God for the serenity of your Empire, that the hard weight which so long pressed upon us is removed from our necks, and that light yoke of the Imperial majesty which the subjects love to bear, has taken its place? Let glory therefore be given to the Creator of all by the hymning choirs

[1] 'Qualiter enim quotidianis gladiis et quantis Langobardorum incursionibus ecce jam per triginta quinque annorum longitudinem premimur, nullis explere suggestionis vocibus valemus'—an important passage, as helping us to fix the date of the entry of the Lombards into Italy at 568.

[2] Ep. xiii. 39.

on high:—let thanks be brought by men upon the earth:— because the whole Republic, which has borne so many sorrowful wounds, has now found the fomentings of your consolation.' BOOK VI. CH. 10. 603.

Gregory then goes on to pray that God, who holds the hearts of kings in His right hand, may turn the hearts of Phocas and Leontia into His service, and make them as zealous defenders of the Catholic faith as they are benign rulers of the state; that Leontia may be another Pulcheria in clemency—another Helena in zeal for the true religion. As they love the Creator of all, so are they bound to love the Church of that Apostle, to whom it was said, 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church.' May they give their relieved subjects joy on earth, and themselves receive, after a long reign, the eternal joys of heaven.

These letters, written in July, 603, are nearly the last that we shall have to notice as proceeding from the pen of the great Pontiff.

Gregory to Theudelinda.

In December of the same year he wrote[1] to Queen Theudelinda thanking her for a letter which she had written from Genoa announcing the Catholic baptism of her son Adalwald. The tortures of gout prevented him from replying at that time to the doubts which had been instilled into her mind by her spiritual adviser Secundus, with reference to the 'Three Chapters' controversy; but he sent the Acts of the Fifth General Council in order to show that nothing had really been done thereat in derogation of the council of Chalcedon. He sent, moreover, certain presents which may have fascinated the gaze of the baby convert.

'We send our most excellent son, Adalwald the king, certain

[1] Ep. xiv. 12.

BOOK VI. CH. 10. 603. small relic-cases[1], namely, a cross with the wood of our Lord's cross, and a manuscript of the Holy Gospel enclosed in an embroidered case[2]. To his sister, my daughter, I send three rings, two with jacinths and one with an onyx[3], and I pray you to hand these presents to your children, that so your Excellency may foster their love towards us. Saluting you with fatherly love, we pray you to give thanks to our most excellent son the king your consort, for the peace which has been made. As your manner has ever been, incline his heart by all means to peace in the future, that so, besides your many other good actions, you may earn from God the reward of an innocent people saved, who might otherwise have perished unshriven[4].'

Increase of Gregory's malady. During all this time the Pope's bodily infirmities were increasing. His once portly frame was shrunken and withered by the gout, and by the daily worries of his life[5]. Sometimes he was simply tortured with pain, and at other times a strange fire seemed to spread along with the pain through his body: the fire and the pain seemed to fight together, and body and mind alike gave way under the conflict[6].

[1] *Phylacteria.*

[2] 'Excellentissimo autem filio nostro Adulouvaldo regi transmittere phylacteria curavimus, id est crucem cum ligno sanctae crucis Domini et lectionem sancti Evangelii thecâ Persicâ inclusam.' This use of the word 'regi' of the infant heir suggests the probability that Paulus is mistaken in dating Adalwald's association with his father in the royal dignity so late as July, 604 (H. L. iv. 30).

[3] *Albula.* [4] 'Qui in scandalo perire poterat.'

[5] Ep. xi. 44. He writes to the Patricia Rusticiana:—'Quem qualis fuerim nostis, ita amaritudo animi et assidua exacerbatio atque praeter hoc podagrae molestia afficit, ut corpus meum tanquam in sepulturâ ita siccatum sit.'

Rusticiana was a fellow-sufferer from the same malady, and was evidently a person of slender frame, for as he says, 'Si mei molem corporis in tantam podagrae dolor ariditatem redegit, quid de vestro corpore sentiam, quod nimis siccum ante dolores fuit?'

[6] Ep. xi. 32.

In February, 603, he wrote[1]:—'I live in such wailing and worry that I regret to see the light of each fresh day; and my only comfort is the expectation of death. Wherefore, I beg you to pray for me, that I may be the sooner led forth from this prison-house of the flesh, and that I be not any longer tortured by such agonies.'

Warm clothing sent to Bishop Ecclesius.

It is pleasant to have to record that almost the last letter which we have from Gregory's pen is one which shows his thoughtfulness for others in the midst of his own daily sufferings. In January, 604, he wrote[2] to the bishop of Perugia that he heard that 'our brother and fellow-bishop' Ecclesius was suffering from the cold, because he had no winter garment. He had asked the Pope to send him something, and accordingly Gregory sent a two-ply wrapper[3], a tunic and a waistcoat[4], which were to be forwarded from Perugia with all speed to the shivering bishop. 'Be sure that you lose no time in executing this commission, and write to us at once that you have done it, for the cold is intense.'

Death of Pope Gregory, March 11, 604.

Soon after writing this letter, the great Pontiff's long struggle with life was ended. He died on

[1] Ep. xiii. 22. Again to his fellow-sufferer, Rusticiana.

[2] This letter is xii. 47 in the Benedictine edition, and is therefore assigned therein to the year 601–2. But Ewald is quite clear that its place in R. is near the close of the letters of the 7th Indiction (Sept. 1, 603–Mar. 11, 604), and that, in fact, it was only followed by x. 22 and 23 (see Neues Archiv, iii. 570). In its present order it is obviously misplaced, for it comes as the 47th out of 50 letters; therefore near the very end of the 5th Indiction (Sept. 1, 501–Aug. 31, 502), that is, at least as late as June or July, and yet it speaks of 'vehemens frigus.'

[3] ἀμφίμαλλον; having the nap on both sides.

[4] *Pectoralem.*

BOOK VI. CH. 10. 604.

March 11[1], 604, and was buried on the following day at the east end of the basilica of St. Peter[2]. After the death of the man, who for fourteen years had been indisputably the foremost figure in the Italian peninsula, there was some trace of that reaction which is so often perceived when a commanding personality, such as that of Augustus, of Elizabeth, of Cromwell, is removed from the world; and, strange to say, it was the open-handed liberality of the deceased Pope which was chosen as the point of attack by his calumniators. The stories of what happened in Rome after his death are obscure, and reach us only through authors who lived two or three centuries after the event; but there is probably in them some vague echo of the truth. Paulus Diaconus[3] tells us that Sabinianus, Pope Gregory's successor[4], refused to continue his predecessor's lavish charities to the people, averring that if he did, the corn-magazines would be exhausted and they would all die of hunger. Thrice did Gregory appear to him in a vision to warn him to repent and change his course, but in vain. A fourth time he appeared, and vehemently rebuked him, and struck him on the head with his staff. Soon after (in February, 606) Sabinianus died.

Sabinianus, his successor, cavils at his liberality.

[1] The 12th of March is sometimes given as the day of Gregory's death, but it seems clear that it was the day of his burial.

[2] The epitaph, in sixteen fairly good elegiac lines, which is given in Joannes Diaconus' life of Pope Gregory, is said to have been composed by Peter Oldradus, archbishop of Milan, secretary of Pope Hadrian I (772–795). See Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom, ii. 97, quoting Cancellieri de secretariis veteris Basilicae Vaticanae, p. 669.

[3] Vita Gregorii, xxix.

[4] He had been formerly Gregory's apocrisiarius at Constantinople. (See p. 394.) His election was not confirmed till October, 604.

According to the story told by Joannes Diaconus, Gregory's later biographer, the Pope's death was followed almost immediately by a famine in Rome. (This at least seems to be an undoubted fact.) Certain calumnious persons (Sabinianus' name is not expressly mentioned) stirred up the people, alleging that Gregory had been a spendthrift, and had wasted the treasures of his patriarchate. Hereupon the mob assembled with tumultuous cries, and began to talk of burning the late Pope's books. His friend the deacon Peter[1] ran in among the crowd and earnestly sought to dissuade them, declaring that he had often seen the Holy Spirit hovering over the late Pope's head in the form of a dove, while he was writing his books[2]. The people shouted, 'Swear to this till death, and we will not burn the books.' Hereupon Peter ascended the '*ambo*' with the Gospels in his hand, swore the required oath, and 'breathed out his spirit amid his true confession[3].'

BOOK VI. CH. 10.

604.

Later legends about the Pope's inspiration.

The character of Pope Gregory, truly called the Great, has been sufficiently indicated by what has been here recorded of his deeds, and quoted of his words. The one great blot upon his escutcheon, his jubilation over the downfall of Maurice, and his fulsome praise of the tyrant his successor, can be palliated by no lover of truth and justice; and it is grievous

Character of Gregory.

[1] The same who is Gregory's interlocutor in the 'Dialogues.'

[2] Paulus' version of the story is that a scribe, peeping through a curtain, saw the dove whispering in Gregory's ear, while he was engaged in composition. The well-known attitude of St. Gregory in sacred art, the dove whispering in his ear, is derived from this legend.

[3] 'And was buried, as you may see this day, near the base of the Pyrgus' (?).

BOOK VI. CH. 10. to think how much more stainless his record would have been had his cruel enemy, the gout, carried him off only one year before the actual date of his death[1].

We must admit, however, that a man of deep spiritual discernment, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his Master, would not have written either the congratulatory epistles to Phocas, or many another letter in the great collection, which denotes impatience and an angry temper. On the whole, it seems safer to judge him as a great Roman, than as a great saint;—and thus considered, his generosity, his justice, his courage, entitle him to a high place among the noblest names of his imperial race. In estimating his character we must never forget that, during all his public life, he was almost incessantly tortured by disease. That little passage in his biography which describes how he used to train the choir in the convent which had been his father's house, seems to me emblematic of much in the life of Gregory. In the midst of a tumultuous and discordant generation, it is his to bear witness to the eternal harmony. But he is stretched upon the bed of sickness; his frame is racked by pain; he holds the rod of discipline in his hand, and ever and anon, as he starts up to chastise the offender, he feels a sharper twinge than usual of his ever-present agony; and this gives an energy to his stroke, and a bitter-

[1] It will be observed that I do not, with many authors, couple the name of Brunichildis with that of Phocas, in considering the indictment against Gregory. His letters to the Austrasian queen are too courtly, too eulogistic; but after all she was a great queen, and her really atrocious crimes were, I think we may safely say, all committed after the death of Gregory.

ness to his words, of which he himself is hardly conscious. BOOK VI. CH. 10.

At any rate, there can be no doubt of the world-historical importance of this man, the last of the great Romans of the Empire, the true founder of the Mediaeval Papacy.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ISTRIAN SCHISM.

Authorities.

Sources:—

The various letters from and to the Istrian schismatics. These are published in a nearly complete form in Troya's Codice Diplomatico.

Guides:—

De Rubeis, Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis. Argentinae, 1740.

Gfrörer, Geschichte Venedigs von seiner Gründung bis zum Jahre 1084.

I HAVE postponed to this place the description of some ecclesiastical events which took place in the North of Italy during the latter part of the sixth century, and which exercised a powerful influence over the political condition of the cities of the Northern Adriatic, especially over that of the rising Venetian Commonwealth, during the greater part of the Lombard rule.

The Three Chapters Controversy.

It is necessary to remind the reluctant reader of that dreary page in ecclesiastical history known as the controversy of the Three Chapters[1]. Most futile and most inept of all the arguments that even ecclesiastics

[1] See book V. chap. xxiii, 'The Sorrows of Vigilius.'

ever wrangled over, that controversy nominally turned on the question whether three Syrian bishops of irreproachable lives, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Ibas of Edessa, were to be stigmatised, a century or more after their deaths, as suffering the punishment of everlasting fire, because the Emperor Justinian, sitting in the library of his palace at the dead of night, and ceaselessly turning over the rolls of the writings of the Fathers, had discovered in the works of these three men the germs of the Nestorian heresy. That was nominally the issue, but, as all men knew, something more than this trifling matter was really involved. The writings of these three Syrians had been received without condemnation, if not with actual applause, at the great Council of Chalcedon; and the real question was whether the Eastern Emperors should be allowed to inflict a backhanded blow on the authority of that Council by throwing out the souls of these three hapless Syrians to the Monophysite wolves of Egypt and of Asia, who were for ever howling after the Imperial chariot. The Council of Chalcedon was dear to the Western, especially dear to the Roman, heart. In it a check had been inflicted on the audacious speculations of Oriental ascetics; by it the Tome of the great pontiff Leo had been accepted almost as a fresh revelation, or (it would perhaps be better to say) as the best expression of Christian common sense on the matters in dispute, and had been used as a bulwark against the ever-rising tide of irreverent speculation into which the Fullers and the Weasels and the other grotesquely-named theologians of Alexandria delighted to plunge.

No Roman Pope would willingly connive at any-

thing which seemed like disrespect to the Council of Chalcedon. Vigilius had struggled, we have seen how desperately, to avoid the slight on that Council which was involved in the condemnation of the Three Chapters; but having obeyed the Imperial summons to Constantinople, he had found that he was in the power of one stronger than himself, and, after doubling backwards and forwards like a frightened hare, he had at last yielded his reluctant but final consent to the proceedings of the Fifth Council, by which the Three Chapters were condemned.

The Popes become energetic condemners of the Three Chapters.

After the Holy See had once irrevocably committed itself to the propositions of Justinian, it could not be accused of lukewarmness in its newly-adopted cause. No partisans are more bitter than those who have deserted a position which they declared they would never surrender, and who in their secret hearts envy the courage of its remaining defenders; a courage which they themselves have not dared to imitate. And thus it came to pass that for something like a century and a half the Roman Pontiffs oppressed with unusual bitterness and acrimony the men who were called the defenders of the Three Chapters, and who still struggled to maintain the position which a Pope had once fought for, and which was almost universally held in the Western Church when Justinian first started his idle controversy.

The condemnation of the Chapters unpopular in the West.

As far as we can discern, the condemnation of the Three Chapters was for a generation or more an unpopular measure in Italy generally as well as in Africa, but the peculiar geographical position and political circumstances of one province, that of *Istria*, caused the opposition there to be more stubborn and long-

enduring, and to assume more completely the character of schism than in other parts of Italy.

Peculiar position of the Churches of Istria.

The peninsula of Istria, stretching forth into the Adriatic Sea at its northern end, whose coast, during the sixth century, was still lined with fair cities which owned the sway of the Empire, formed one province with the mainland and islands to the West which bore the name of Venetia[1]. But this province was now so circumscribed by the conquests of the Lombards, especially in the Western portion, that its full name, 'Venetia et Istria,' was often abbreviated, and it was called 'Istria' alone. The chief city of the province was Aquileia[2], for which, notwithstanding its awful destruction by Attila, its ecclesiastical supremacy had procured a fresh lease of life, though doubtless with greatly diminished splendour.

The Patriarch of Aquileia.

The Patriarch of Aquileia[3] was still therefore an important ecclesiastical personage, perhaps the most

[1] 'Venetiae etiam Histria connectitur et utraeque pro una provincia habentur' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 14).

[2] 'Hujus Venetiae Aquileia civitas extitit caput: pro qua nunc Forum Julii' (Paulus, H. L. ii. 14). 'Nunc' of course means towards the end of the eighth century, by which time the consolidation of the Lombard rule had made the capital of the Lombard duke a more important place than the derelict city by the Isonzo. See vol. ii. p. 152 (2nd edition) as to the destruction of Aquileia and her resurrection. I now think that the assertion there made, 'from this time Aquileia almost disappears from history,' is too strongly worded.

[3] De Rubeis (p. 194) thinks that the higher title of Patriarch was first given to Metropolitan bishops by Gothic and Vandal kings. There is some doubt as to the exact time when the bishop of Aquileia was first called Patriarch. Possibly he would receive that title from friends and flatterers before it was formally conceded to him by other Patriarchs. I am following the example of Paulus, who probably here copies Secundus, in giving it to Paulinus.

BOOK VI. Ch. 11.

Paulinus, 558-570.

important between Ravenna and Constantinople. Paulinus, who was Patriarch of Aquileia from about 558 to 570[1], raised the standard of ecclesiastical rebellion against the Fifth Council and the condemnation of the Three Chapters, and refused to communicate with Pope Pelagius, the successor of Vigilius, whom he regarded as a betrayer of the faith. The Pope retorted by urging Narses, who was then ruling Italy with an all-powerful hand, to seize both Paulinus of Aquileia and the bishop of Milan (who had consecrated Paulinus in defiance of a Papal mandate, and who probably shared his views), and to carry both these ecclesiastics to Constantinople, where they were no doubt to be subjected to the same gentle arguments which had enlightened the mind of Vigilius as to the damnation of the three Syrians. Narses, however, seems to have wisely refused to meddle in such matters; and though the schism was now formally begun, and was apparently shared by all the bishops of Istria, the dispute seems to have slumbered, till in 568 the Lombard avalanche descended upon Italy.

Pope Pelagius I invites the aid of Narses against the Istrian schismatics.

The Lombard invasion. Paulinus retires from Aquileia to Grado, 568-9.

It was probably very soon after this event that Paulinus, 'fearing the barbarity of the Lombards, fled to the island of Grado, taking with him all the treasures of the Church[2].' He died soon after, about the year 570, very likely worn out with the terrors of the times and the hardships incidental to his new abode, for Grado is a poor little island at the mouth of the Isonzo, and probably offered no accommodation

[1] Muratori, whose guidance I am here following, puts the beginning of the schism under Paulinus at 556. But Paulus tells us expressly that Paulus (as he miscalls Paulinus) governed the Church for twelve years, and Muratori places his death in 570 (Annali d' Italia, iii. 449).

[2] Paulus, H. L. ii. 10.

for a Patriarch and his retinue at all comparable to that which they had enjoyed in the neighbouring Aquileia. His successor Probinus also died, after a very short enjoyment of his dignity (about 570–571), and a man bearing the name of the prophet Elias was elected in his stead (571–586). In his days a step was taken which gave a new importance to the little island of Grado. For ten years or so the settlement in that island had been considered a mere temporary expedient. The Istrian clergy, like so many other subjects of the Emperor, looked upon the Lombard invasion as the overflow of a barbaric flood, which would soon pass away, allowing the dry land of the Roman Republic once again to appear. But by the year 579 this cherished hope had been of necessity abandoned, and on the third of November in that year a Council was held at Grado, under the presidency of Elias, at which it was formally decreed that the city of Grado should receive the title of 'the new Aquileia,' and should be declared in perpetuity the metropolis of the whole province of Venetia and Istria. The alleged proceedings of this Council are unfortunately regarded with much suspicion by scholars[1]. If genuine, they present an interesting picture of the times. We see in them the bishops of the whole important province assembled. Padua and Verona in the Venetian plain; Concordia and Opitergium (Oderzo) in the neighbourhood of the lagunes, Trieste, Pola, and Parenzo on the Istrian coast, Aemona (Laybach) in Carniola, Celeia (Cilli) in Styria; and Avoricium, which is perhaps Avronzo, the well-known resort of travellers, under the shadow of the Dolomites: all of them sent their

BOOK VI. CH. 11.

Probinus, 570–571.

Elias, 571–586.

Council of Grado, Nov. 3, 579.

[1] They are given by Troya (iv. i. 10–20), being copied by him from De Rubeis' Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis.

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 579. representatives to the Council, which assembled in the new basilica of St. Euphemia. Then, while the bishops and presbyters sat, the deacons stood round them, and a copy of the Gospels having been placed in the middle of the assembly, Elias stood forth to explain his reasons for summoning the Council. 'Unspeakable,' said he, 'is the mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ, who condescends to help our weakness. Amid the pangs of the Church of God, and the fierce massacres of the heathen[1], who cease not to shake and devastate the remnants of our miserable province, I confess that it was beyond my hopes to see you all collected in this venerable assembly. For I feared lest anything should thwart the fulfilment of our common prayers; but now that by the mercy of Christ we are all met together, let me tell you wherefore I have summoned you. Long ago, by Attila, king of the Huns, our city of Aquileia was destroyed from top to bottom. Shaken afterwards by the inroads of the Goths and other barbarians, it had scarcely time to recover its breath under the rule of Narses, and now it absolutely cannot bear the daily scourge of the unutterable nation of the Lombards. Therefore with the consent of the blessed Pope Pelagius[2] of the Apostolic See, before whom I have laid our case, I ask, does it please your Holinesses to confirm this city of Gradus as our metropolis for ever, and to call it the new Aquileia?'

The presbyter Laurentius, legate of the Apostolic See, handed in the Papal 'privilegium,' bestowing the

[1] *Gentium.*

[2] This is, of course, Pelagius the Second (579 (?)–570), successor of Benedict I, and predecessor of Gregory; not Pelagius the First (556–561), successor of Vigilius, from whom Paulinus seceded.

new dignity on Grado; and when this was read by the notary Epiphanius, the bishops all shouted, 'Hear, O Christ: grant long life to Pelagius,' and unanimously ratified the proposal of Elias. Epiphanius read the Nicene Creed as contained in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon: and the members of the synod then all affixed their signatures to the record, Patriarch Elias first, the Pope's legate next, then the bishops, probably in order of age, and then the presbyters.

579.

Grado to be called 'the new Aquileia.'

If we have here a genuine record of the acts of the Council of 579[1], it is clear that some sort of reconciliation must have taken place between the sees of Rome and Aquileia, or such a letter as the 'privilegium' handed in by the legate Laurentius could never have left the Roman chancery. Possibly the deaths of both the original disputants (Pelagius I having died in 560, and Paulinus in 570) may have

Did the Pope sanction the transference of the see from Aquileia to Grado?

[1] The authenticity of this document has been attacked by De Rubeis (pp. 245-255) and others (see Troya, iv. 1. 168-173). It would require an expert to decide such a question; but I should have thought the document bore the impress of truth, except perhaps for the attribution to Elias of the title of Patriarch by the Pope: and this may well be the work of a late copyist. As Troya points out, Elias does not *sign* as 'Patriarcha,' but as 'Episcopus.' The most serious objection raised by De Rubeis appears to me to be that connected with the date of the Council (November, 579). The election of Pelagius II has been generally fixed November 30, 578 (so Clinton, Fasti Romani sub anno). But if the Liber Pontificalis, according to its latest editor, Duchesne, is to be trusted, Pelagius became Pope on the 26th of November, 579, and if so, the alleged letter from him produced at the synod of Grado on the 3rd of that month cannot be genuine. It does not seem to me, however, that the chronology of the Liber Pontificalis for this period rests on any very certain basis. [The attempt to uphold the authenticity of the Acts of the Council of Grado, 579, is criticized by Crivellucci, Studi Storici, vol. iv, p. 125. Very likely he is right.]

BOOK VI. CH. 11.

smoothed the way of peace. No doubt also the Roman pontiffs saw the great advantage which would accrue to the cause of orthodoxy from the transference of the patriarchal see. At Aquileia the heretical defenders of the Three Chapters could shelter themselves under the wing of those deadlier heretics, the Lombards, and defy both Pope and Emperor. At Grado they were of necessity the obedient servants of the Empire, and a visit from the Imperial galleys could at any time reinforce the cause of orthodoxy. And in fact, not many years had elapsed after the meeting of the Council at Grado, before the Patriarch of New Aquileia received an earnest admonition from the Pope as to the necessity of no longer delaying his condemnation of the Three Chapters [1].

Letter from the Pope to the Istrian bishops, 585 (?).

In this letter the Pope said that he took advantage of the interval of peace procured by the anxious labours of the Exarch Smaragdus [2] to write to the bishop Elias, and the rest of his dear brethren the bishops of Istria, exhorting them no longer to continue in schism from the Church. He solemnly protested his unwavering faith in the decisions of the four great Councils, Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; his veneration for the Tome of his great predecessor Leo, and his determination to uphold its authority unimpaired. He did not in this letter condescend to the details of the Three Chapters con-

[1] This and the following letters are given at length by Troya, Nos. xiv and xv, and are by him assigned to the end of 584 or the beginning of 585.

[2] 'Postea ergo quam Deus omnipotens pro felicitate Christianorum principum per labores atque solicitudinem filii nostri excellentissimi Smaragdi Exarchi et Chartularii sacri palatii, pacem nobis interim vel quietem donare dignatus est.'

troversy, but desired the Istrians to choose out from among themselves bishops or presbyters whom they might send to Rome, and he promised to receive such messengers with love, meekly to offer them satisfaction on all the points as to which they were in doubt, and to allow them to return unhindered to their homes. BOOK VI. CH. 11. 584.

The Istrian reply.

The messengers were sent; but they brought what seemed to the Pope neither submission to his will, nor an answer to his arguments, nor open minds to receive his explanations,—but a short and sharp definition of the Istrian position; in fact a summons to the Pope himself to surrender, under pain of interdict from Elias and his brethren[1].

Second letter from Pelagius II.

The receipt of this letter filled Pelagius with such grief that, as he told the Schismatics, he 'kept silence even from good words.' In his second letter[2] he told them that they did not understand what they were talking about. He had shown, he said, to their envoys the passages which they had quoted from the proceedings of the Councils, as they stood in the ancient documents still preserved in the Papal chancery[3], and had argued that when taken in their proper connection, and not read in garbled extracts in the

[1] 'Neque his quae nos vobis scripsimus respondistis, neque ut fraternam decuerat caritatem, fidei nostrae satisfactione suscepta ad unitatem ecclesiae revertendi obedientiam commodastis: postremo nec eos aliter qui venerunt dirigere pertulistis, ut apertissimam lucidissimamque satisfactionem se paterentur accipere: sed scripto nobis quasi capitulare vel interdictum potius ostenderunt, nihil injunctum sibi a vobis aliud asserentes nisi ut vestrae tantummodo essent portatores epistolae.' [2] No. xv. in Troya's collection.

[3] 'Praesentium portatoribus quos fraternitas vestra direxit et ex codicibus et *ex antiquis polyptychis scrinii sanctae sedis apostolicae* relecta sunt aliqua': an interesting passage, as giving us a glimpse of the record office of the Roman see in the sixth century.

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 585.

Encyclicals of hostile bishops, they by no means sustained the contention of the defenders of the Chapters. Especially with much diplomatic skill, but hardly equal candour, he laid stress on some reservations of the great Leo, who, in assenting to the decrees of Chalcedon, had expressly stated that he only ratified that which was therein decided *with reference to the faith*. Doubtless Pope Leo himself, if he could have been questioned, would have replied that this exception did not refer to the alleged Nestorianism of Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret (which was a question of faith), but did refer to the rash attempt of the Council of Chalcedon to raise the see of Constantinople to an equality with the see of Rome [1]. Long extracts followed from Augustine and Cyprian on the necessity of keeping in unity with the visible Church, founded on the rock of St. Peter; and the letter closed with a somewhat peremptory demand that 'instructed persons, able to give and to receive a reason in the debate,' should be sent to Rome, or (if they feared the length of the journey and the unsettlement of the times) to Ravenna, where they would be met by envoys from the Pope.

The Istrians still defiant.

The Istrian bishops, however, were quite immovable; refused to come either to Rome or Ravenna, and sent another letter in which, as the Pope declared, they hardly condescended to argue, but announced their own authoritative decision [2], and seemed to command the Pontiff to accept it. That there were,

[1] See vol. iii. p. 153.

[2] 'Tandem dilectionis vestrae literas suscepi, quae non rationis causas quaererent sed deliberatâ apud vos judicii sententiâ imperarent' (Pelagii Epistola, ap. Troya, iv. I. xviii).

however, some arguments in this letter (now lost, like almost all the documents on that side of the controversy), we may infer from the reply which Paulus Diaconus calls 'a very useful Epistle, composed by the blessed Gregory while he was still deacon, and sent by Pelagius to Elias, bishop of Aquileia[1].'

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 585.

Third letter from Pelagius II, written by Gregory.

In the interval between the second and third letters despatched by Pelagius II, Gregory had returned from Constantinople, and even without the express statement of Paulus, we could hardly be mistaken in attributing to him the altered tone now assumed by the Pope at whose elbow he was standing.

'I have hitherto[2],' he says, 'written to you words full of sweetness, and rather by prayer than by admonition have sought to guide you into the right way. But I now see with grieving wonder the lengths to which you dare to proceed, confiding in your own wisdom, and I have to confess to myself that my example of humility has been wasted upon you. Like Jeremiah I must say, "We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed[3]." I have tried to kindle the fire of charity, and burn off your schismatic rust, but with the same prophet I must say "the bellows are burned, the lead is consumed of the fire, the blower bloweth in vain: his ashes are not consumed[4]."'

[1] 'Hic Pelagius Heliae Aquileiensi episcopo, nolenti tria capitula Calchidonensis (*sic*) synodi suspicere, Epistulam satis utilem misit. Quam beatus Gregorius, cum esset adhuc diaconus, conscripsit' (H. L. iii. 20). Of course Paulus is not correct in calling the treatises in dispute 'three chapters of the synod of Chalcedon.'

[2] This letter is partially copied by Troya (No. xviii), and in full by Baronius.

[3] Jeremiah li. 9.

[4] Ibid. vi. 29. In the A. V. 'The founder melteth in vain, for the wicked are not plucked away.'

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 585.

The Pope, or rather the deacon by his side (for in these passages we recognise all the characteristics of Gregory, his familiarity with the old prophets, and his desperate love of allegorical interpretation), proceeds to ply the recalcitrant bishops with passages from Jeremiah, Paul and Ezekiel to convince them of their error.

'"Is there no resin in Gilead, is there no physician there? Why then is not the scar of the daughter of my people healed[1]?" What does he mean by *resin*, which feeds the flames, and which for the adornment of a palace cements together severed marbles[2]? What can he mean but charity, which kindles our hearts to love, and binds together the discordant minds of men by the longing after peace, for the adornment of Holy Church? And *Gilead*, which is by interpretation the heap of witness[3]—what can he mean by that but the mass of sentences piled up on high in Holy Scripture? The *physician*, is not he the preacher? The *daughter's scar*, is not that the fault of the erring multitude laid bare before the eyes of God?' After a few more remarks of this kind the Papal champion plunges into the thick of the controversy, and goes over all the weary battlefield, whither we need not follow him, showing that Leo had not confirmed all the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, but had expressly reserved private and personal matters; that the case of the three Syrian bishops might be considered as included in these private and personal matters; that Chalcedon

[1] Jeremiah viii. 22. The *resina* of the Vulgate is 'balm' in the A. V.

[2] 'In ornamentum domus marmora dissipata conjungit.' Is it the process of inlaying mosaics to which Gregory here alludes?

[3] Genesis xxxi. 47.

must have implicitly condemned them, since it approved of Cyril and the Council of Ephesus which they opposed: that there was good patristic authority for anathematizing heretics even after their death: and that the long reluctance of Vigilius and the western bishops to accept the decrees of the Fifth Council arose from their ignorance of Greek, and gave all the more value to the sentence which they at last, after such rigorous scrutiny, consented to pronounce.

585.

On the whole, if the course taken by the Popes in this dismal controversy had to be defended, it was probably impossible to put forth a better defence than that here made by Gregory, and he did well in sending a copy of it six years later, when he was himself Pope, to each of the schismatic bishops, inviting their candid and unprejudiced study of its contents, and predicting that they would then speedily return to the bosom of the Church[1].

Severus, Patriarch of Aquileia, 586-606.

This was not the effect, however, of the 'useful letter,' when issued either by Pope Gregory or his predecessor. In 586[2] the Patriarch Elias died, apparently unreconciled, and was succeeded by Severus, who for twenty years ruled the Church of Aquileia.

High-handed proceedings of the Exarch Smaragdus, 588 (?).

Soon after his accession, to end this troublesome business, the Exarch Smaragdus came (probably with a few Imperial ships) from Ravenna to Grado, dragged the new Patriarch forth with his own right arm from the basilica itself, and carried him off in ignominious captivity[3] to Ravenna. Severus went not alone, for

[1] Greg. Ep. ii. 51.

[2] This is the date given by De Rubeis. Muratori says 587. The Chronicon Gradense gives Severus twenty-one years of rule.

[3] '*Per semet ipsum* e basilicâ extrahens, Ravennam *cum injuriâ*

BOOK VI. CH. 11.

588. there were carried off with him three bishops, John of Parenzo, Severus of Trieste, and Vindemius of Cissa[1], and an aged *defensor* of the Church of Grado named Antonius. At Ravenna the captive ecclesiastics were detained for a year till their spirit was broken by the violence used, and the further exile threatened; and they consented, doubtless with heavy hearts, to communicate with John, bishop of Ravenna, who was on the now winning side, and condemned the Three Chapters.

Violence, however, now, as so often before and since in affairs of the conscience, failed of its purpose. When the bishops were at length at the year's end allowed to return to Grado, neither their brother bishops nor the lay multitude would have aught to say to them: and thus the end of the schism was as far off as ever. Smaragdus, the audacious violator of the sanctity of the Church of Grado, became insane, and men saw in his mental disease the work of a demon to whom he was given over for his crime. He returned to Constantinople, and Romanus, as we have seen, was sent as his successor to Ravenna[2].

Insanity and recall of Smaragdus.

589-597(?).

Council of Marano, 589 (?).

A Council was now held at Marano, a place on the mainland, but overlooking a broad lagune, and

duxit' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 26). All our information as to this and the immediately following events comes from Paulus, and is doubtless derived from Secundus, himself a Schismatic or a favourer of Schismatics. The reader will see how this change of authority at once gives a different colour to the narrative.

[1] An island off the coast of Istria. Another reading has Ceneda under the Dolomite mountains, in the Trevisan.

[2] 'Smaracdus patricius a daemonio non injuste correptus successorem Romanum patricium accipiens Constantinopolim remeavit' (Paulus, H. L. iii. 26).

about twelve miles west of Aquileia[1]. From this place, where the Lombard rather than the Byzantine was supreme, the Schismatics could venture to hurl unabated defiance both at Constantinople and at Rome. The names of the sees represented at this Council are not quite the same as those which took part in the former one. They wear a more Venetian, and less Istrian character, as might be expected from the fact that the men who bore them were now leaning on Lombard protection, and somewhat estranged from the rule of the Empire. We find the bishops of Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, Belluno, Feltre, and Zuglio from continental Venetia, to which names must be added Asolo, which I mention separately for the sake of its Cypriote queen, and its English poet. Altino and Concordia on the shores of the lagunes, Trient and Seben from the country which we now call Tyrol, all sent bishops to the Council. The Istrian peninsula was apparently represented by Pola alone[2]. At this Council the Patriarch Severus

[1] A theory was started by some scholars of last century that the place where the Council was held was not Maranum, but Marianum, and that this is represented by Maniago on the Zelline, about twenty-five miles south of Ampezzo. This theory is vigorously combated by De Rubeis (pp. 262–270), who contends for the site given in the text. It should be mentioned that he does not take so strong a view of the Lombard patronage of the Schismatics as that which I have put forward. According to him it was from Maurice rather than from Agilulf that the Istrians derived the assurance of support which made them so contumacious towards the Pope.

[2] Paulus says, in somewhat ambiguous fashion, 'Cum patriarcha autem communicaverunt isti episcopi'; and then follow the names of the bishops of Trieste, Parenzo, Cissa (all these were of Istria, and had shared in the Patriarch's defection), Aemona (Laybach), and Celeia (Cilli). Whether he means us to understand that these

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 589.

handed in a paper[1] in which he humbly confessed his error in having communicated with the condemners of the Three Chapters. He was hereupon received again into fellowship with his suffragans.

This Council[2] of Marano was probably held in 589[3], during a pause of something like peace in Italy.

Letter from Pope Gregory to the Schismatics.

Next year the great Gregory ascended the pontifical throne, and one of his earliest acts was to write a letter[4], short, sad, and stern, to the Patriarch of Aquileia, lamenting his wilful departure from the way of truth (of which, having once walked in it, he could no longer pretend ignorance), and summoning him, with his followers, to the threshold of St. Peter, there to be judged by a synod concerning all the matters about which doubt had arisen.

This summons purported to be issued in accordance with the commands of 'the most Christian and most Serene lord of all things;' but in point of fact, since the substitution of Romanus for Smaragdus, the Pope had neither the Emperor nor the Exarch at his back[5].

Petitions from the Schismatic bishops to the Emperor, 591.

On the receipt of this Papal summons two Councils were assembled, one of the bishops in Lombard territory,

bishops communicated with Severus before or after his recantation at the Council of Marano, that is, whether they were condemners or defenders of the Three Chapters, is not very clear. One inference it seems safe to draw from his separate mention of them, that they were not present at the Council of Marano.

[1] 'Libellum erroris sui.'

[2] Or 'conciliabulum,' as orthodox writers call it.

[3] So Weise argues (p. 93). Troya places it in 590.

[4] Greg. Ep. i. 16.

[5] [The Rev. H. K. Mann points out that Gregory had the *imperialis jussio*, as is proved not only by Gregory's own letter (I. 16), but by the statement of the schismatic bishops themselves (Ep. I. 16 *a*), though they complain that the *jussio* had been *subrepta* without the Emperor's understanding what he was doing.]

and one of those who dwelt in the Imperial cities on the coast. From these two Councils and from Severus in his individual capacity three letters were sent to the Emperor. Of these only the first has been preserved[1], but the contents of all were probably similar. The bishops who were under the Lombard yoke expressed their unshaken loyalty to the Empire, recalled with a sigh the happy days of peace which they had once passed under its shadow, congratulated Maurice on the recent successes of his arms in Italy, and predicted the speedy arrival of the day when the 'Gentiles' would be suppressed, and all would be once more subject to the beneficent rule of the 'Holy Roman Republic.' When that day should come they would gladly present themselves before a synod in the sacred city of Constantinople. Meanwhile, however, let a religious truce be proclaimed, and let them not be compelled to appear before Gregory, who was really a party to the cause, since they had renounced communion with him, and could not accept him as their judge. In all that they were now doing, they were only upholding the authority of Chalcedon, and maintaining the position which Pope Vigilius had himself ordered them to take up when he anathematized the condemners of the Three Chapters. If their enemies were allowed to persecute them, and destroy the rights of the Metropolitan Church of Aquileia, the inevitable result would be that on the death of the present occupants of the Venetian and Rhaetian sees, their successors would be appointed by a Gaulish Metro-

[1] Troya, No. lviii. It is interesting to see that it purports to proceed from the bishops 'Venetiarum seu [= et] Secundae Rhaetiae.'

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 591.

politan, and would transfer their allegiance to him (a thing which had already happened in three churches of the Province): and where ecclesiastical obedience had gone, political obedience would probably follow. Thus even from a political point of view it was important for Maurice to uphold the rights of the struggling Church of Aquileia.

A religious truce proclaimed by the Emperor.

This, and the kindred petitions drew forth a letter[1] addressed 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,' by 'the Emperor Caesar Flavius Mauritius Tiberius, the faithful in Christ, the Peaceful, the Mild, the Mightiest, the Beneficent, the victor of the Alamanni;—to the very holy Gregorius, most Blessed Archbishop of the fair City of Rome, and Pope.' After referring to the three petitions, the Emperor says that he has learned from them (one imagines with some surprise) that the Pope has himself sent a tribune and a guardsman[2] to enforce his summons on Severus and his brother bishops. He also mentions their prayer for a religious truce, and concludes, 'Since therefore your Holiness is aware of the present confusion in Italian affairs, and knows that we must adapt ourselves to the times, we order your Holiness to give no further molestation to those bishops, but to allow them to live quietly until by the providence of God the regions of Italy be in all other respects restored to peace, and the other bishops of Istria and Venetia[3] be again brought back to the old order[4]. Then, by the help of your prayers, all measures will be better taken for the restoration of peace, and the removal of differences in doctrine.' To which the

[1] Troya, lix. [2] *Excubitor.* [3] 'Istriae seu Venetiarum.'
[4] 'Iterum ad pristinum ordinem redigantur.' No doubt this means the old political order.

Emperor added in his own handwriting, 'May God preserve you for many years, holiest and most blessed Father!'

Gregory had certainly some reason to complain of such a mandate as this. The question of the Three Chapters was none of Rome's raising, It was an Emperor at Constantinople who had dug up the bones of Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas, and set the whole Christian world at variance over the question of their damnation. The Popes had been merely the instruments, at first the most unwilling instruments, of the State in enforcing conformity with the decrees of the Fifth Council on their suffragans, and now, when the unity of the Western Church was endangered, and Rome was threatened with the uprising of a new and insolent rival at Aquileia, Constantinople intervened, and would not allow the use of one tribune and one life-guardsman in order to put pressure on the Schismatics. Doubtless the remembrance of that letter about the Istrian bishops was one of the things which rankled in the breast of Gregory, when, eleven years after, he sang his lamentable hosannas over the murder of Maurice and his sons. However, for the present the Pope bowed his head to the hard necessity of the times, and, as far as we can see, during the whole Exarchate of Romanus (that is till 597) made no attempt to invoke the powers of the State in order to end the Istrian schism.

It was during this interval that, as has been said, he reissued the 'useful letter' which he had himself composed for his predecessor Pelagius, and sent a copy to each of the schismatic bishops, informing them that if, after reading that document, they still remained

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 591-597.

unconvinced, their error could only be imputed to sheer obstinacy. He also pointed out to them that they were entirely in error in saying that they were 'persecuted.' Persecution, martyrdom and words of that kind can only be rightly used of those who hold the truth. Men who are in error have no right to claim them. This reasoning would have been cheerfully adopted by Diocletian or Galerius[1].

Schismatics returning to the fold.

Towards the end of this period (July 595), two bishops, Peter[2] and Providentius, made overtures for reconciliation to the Pope, and were invited to visit him at Rome[3]. We are not informed, however, of the result of the negociations. A little later on (June 596), we find one solitary monk, Joannes by name, returning from the schismatic fold. He takes refuge in Sicily, and Gregory makes him a small annual allowance from the Church patrimony[4]; but his conversion cannot be considered a signal triumph for the cause of orthodoxy.

597 (?). Change resulting from the appointment of Callinicus as Exarch.

With the appointment of Callinicus to the office of Exarch a slight change comes over the scene. The Imperial veto on compulsory conversion remains in force, but it is evidently felt that the man in power at Ravenna is now more friendly to the Roman See, and that the Istrians may have a harder struggle to maintain their position of independence. A certain Magister

[1] Greg. Ep. ii. 51 (49). [2] [Probably Peter of Altinum.]

[3] Greg. Ep. vi. 51 (56). In the letter of Patriarch John to Agilulf, which will shortly be mentioned, Petrus and Providentius are claimed as belonging to the party of the Schismatics till compelled by violence to communicate with the orthodox bishop Candidianus.

[4] Greg. Ep. vi. 39 (36). There seems to be no sufficient MS. authority for fixing the allowance at 8 solidi (£4 16s.).

599. Affairs of the Insula Capritana with its Castellum ad Novas.

Militum with the barbaric name of Gulfaris receives the warm thanks of Gregory for his watchful care over the souls of those under his rule, and his desire to bring them back from schism into the bosom of the Church [1].

But our attention is especially attracted by the case of the *Insula Capritana*, which appears to be the island in the lagunes at the mouth of the Piave, upon which was soon to arise the city of Heraclea, the precursor of Venice [2]. The story is somewhat obscurely told us in Gregory's letters [3], but seems to have been something like this. A certain man named John, coming from Pannonia, had been appointed bishop of the Venetian 'Newcastle' (Castellum ad Novas), and had violently annexed to his diocese the adjoining island of Caprea, expelling its bishop. He had then temporarily abjured his schismatic profession, and had, together with the laity on the island, sought through the Exarch Callinicus reconciliation with the Roman Church. Before long, however, the bishop relapsed into schism, while the congregation, or at least a considerable portion of them, still desired to re-enter the Catholic fold. The expelled bishop also,

[1] Ep. ix. 93 (160).

[2] Diehl (p. 48. n. 5) fails to convince me that Ad Novas is the Istrian Citta Nuova, formerly Neapolis, and that Insula Capritana is represented by a neighbouring village bearing the significant name of Isola. A place named Capris, between Tergeste and Piranum, mentioned by the geographer of Ravenna (iv. 31, v. 14), certainly helps his theory; but after all it is chiefly founded on the fact that Gregory places the 'insula Capreae' in the province of Istria, and the whole correspondence shows with what vagueness the term Istria was used, almost as equivalent to 'Venetia et Istria.'

[3] Ep. ix. 9, 10, 94, 95, 96, 97. These letters, according to Ewald's arrangement, were all written about May 599.

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599. who had made his way to Sicily, that chosen home of all the Roman 'emigration[1],' showed some signs of willingness to condemn the Three Chapters[2]. A deputation from his late flock having arrived in Rome, Gregory invited the bishop to come himself to the 'threshold of the Apostles' in order to be confirmed in his new faith. Whether he accepted the invitation or not, a meeting was to be arranged between the Istrians and their bishop, and the new converts were sped upon their homeward way (the journey being apparently accomplished by water, and therefore taking them round by Sicily), and were supplied with letters of amplest commendation to the Exarch, to the bishop of Ravenna, and to all their fellow countrymen of the island of Caprea. The result of this affair, as of so many others which have been opened to us by the Papal correspondence, does not seem to be anywhere disclosed. But there is an interesting passage in the first of Gregory's letters to the Exarch about these poor returning Capritans[3]. Two pieces of news have just been communicated by the Exarch which have equally gladdened the Pope's heart. One is a series of victories over the Sclavonians, and the other this return of the inhabitants of Caprea to their ecclesiastical obedience. The Pope assures him that his victory over the enemies of the State is the reward of his exertions to bring back the enemies of God under the yoke of their true Lord. But Callinicus had some doubts whether he was not transgressing the Emperor's

[1] I purposely borrow a word from the vocabulary of the French Revolution.

[2] I cannot doubt that Greg. Ep. ix. 94 relates to the same bishop as the one mentioned in ix. 10, though this is not expressly stated.

[3] Ep. ix. 9.

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commands in going even as far as he had gone to meet the returning heretics. To this Gregory answers that the Imperial prohibition, itself obtained under false pretences[1], only restrained the Exarch 'during this time of uncertainty,' from forcibly compelling the unwilling, and by no means ordered him to repel those who were willing to return to the unity of the Church; 'wherefore it is necessary that you should hasten to make this suggestion to our most pious Emperors, so that they may understand that under their reign, by the help of Almighty God, and of your labours, the Schismatics are of their own accord returning to the Church.

'Know, however, that it caused me no little sorrow that your Intendant [Major Domus], who had received the petition of a bishop desirous to return, professes to have lost it, and that it afterwards fell by accident into the hands of the adversaries of the Church. I think this was done, not through negligence, but for a bribe: wherefore I wonder that your Excellency should have so slightly punished such a fault. But after saying "I wonder," I at once corrected myself, for where my lord Justin is allowed to give advice, a man who is himself out of the peace of the Catholic Church, one cannot expect that heretics will be punished.' Dark hints these as to cabals in the Exarch's cabinet, to which we have no further clue[2].

Conversion of Firminus, bishop of Trieste, 602.

In May 602, as we find from another letter of Pope Gregory[3], Firminus, bishop of Tergeste (Trieste),

[1] 'Quia quamvis jussio ipsa subrepta est.'

[2] Justin is possibly a former praetor of Sicily, with whom Gregory had had some disputes, and whom he accused of taking bribes (Greg. Ep. ii. 33 (30) and iii. 38 (37).)

[3] Greg. Ep. xii. 33.

BOOK VI. Ch. 11. 602.

returned to his obedience to the Roman See. He suffered, we are told, many things at the hands of his schismatic Metropolitan Severus, who even endeavoured to stir up an insurrection against him in his own city. The conversion of the bishop of so important a city was doubtless a great triumph for the condemners of the Three Chapters, and we are not surprised to find Pope Gregory earnestly entreating the Exarch Smaragdus to protect the new convert[1].

The Three Chapters Controversy at the Lombard Court.

It was not only on the shores of the Northern Adriatic that this miserable controversy about the Three Chapters disturbed the peace of the Church. Constantius, bishop of Milan, the firm friend and adherent of Gregory, was beset by entreaties, both from above and below, that he would separate himself from the see of Rome in this matter. The bishop and citizens of Brescia called upon him to write them a letter, in which he was to assert upon oath that he had never condemned the Three Chapters. Pope Gregory forbade him to give them any assurances of the sort[2]. Three of his suffragan bishops solemnly informed him that they renounced his communion because he had condemned the Chapters, and had given a bond for his perpetual adhesion to the Fifth Council[3]. And not only so, but the pious Theudelinda

[1] Greg. Ep. xiii. 33.

[2] Ep. iv. 39.

[3] Strange as it may appear, this seems to be the only meaning that we can put upon the words of Gregory (Ep. iv. 2), 'Dicentes vos in damnationem trium capitulorum consensisse *atque cautionem fecisse*.' Apparently Laurentius, predecessor of Constantius, had given a similar bond to the see of Rome: 'quamvis decessor fraternitatis tuae Laurentius districtissimam cautionem sedi apostolicae emiserit, in qua viri nobilissimi et legitimo numero subscripserunt. *Inter quos ego quoque tunc urbanam praeturam* [prefecturam] *gerens pariter subscripsi*.' As was before remarked (p. 288) this is the only

herself, 'seduced by the words of evil men,' consented to the course pursued by the three bishops, and withdrew for a time from communion with Constantius. Here was indeed a blow for the Catholic cause, if the royal influence so hardly won, after the long contest with Arianism, was to be lost again over the souls of the three Syrians. Gregory wrote to the queen[1], expressing his regret that she should endanger the result of all her good works and all her pious tears by listening to the talk of 'unskilled and foolish men, who not only were ignorant of what they were talking about, but could scarce understand what they heard,' and at their persuasion separating herself from the communion of the Catholic Church. He assured her that whatever had been done 'in the times of the pious Emperor Justinian, had been so done as in no degree to impair the authority of the great council of Chalcedon.' This letter was sent to Constantius for delivery, but was prudently suppressed by him, for he knew that an allusion to the Fifth Council, however faint and indirect, would ruin all chance of its reception by Theudelinda[2]. Thus warned, the Pope wrote another letter, in which he dwelt with earnest emphasis on his adhesion to the *four* councils (the number of which, like that of the four gospels, the four living creatures in the Apocalypse, the four rivers of Eden, had a charm for devout minds), and, in slightly different words, renewed his entreaties that she would submit herself to the judgment of the priests of God.

Gregory's letters to Theudelinda.

allusion that we have in Gregory's correspondence to the high official position which he once held in Rome.

[1] Ep. iv. 4. [2] Greg. Ep. iv. 39.

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 599-603.

The entreaties of the Pope probably availed to induce Theudelinda to resume her communion with Constantius, and her relations with Pope Gregory seem thenceforward to have been those of unbroken friendship. He sent her a copy of his marvellous 'Dialogues' with the deacon Peter[1], and in 599 he wrote to her that letter of congratulation, which has been already quoted, on the great peace obtained through her mediation.

One last letter, as we have seen[2], Pope Gregory wrote to the Lombard queen in December 603, only three months before his death. In it, while congratulating her on the birth and Catholic baptism of her son Adalwald, he excused himself on the plea of sickness from writing an elaborate answer to the paper sent him by 'his dearest son the abbot Secundus.' We have here an interesting glimpse of the Tridentine Ecclesiastic, to whom we are indirectly indebted for so much of the early history of the Lombards. It is evident that Secundus was on the side of the vindicators of the Three Chapters, and we are thus enabled to understand why the allusions to the controversy in the pages of his copyist Paulus are written with so obvious a bias towards the schismatic side. We may conjecture also that Secundus, who, according to Paulus, lived on till the year 612[3], exerted his influence till the close of his life on behalf of the defenders of the Three Chapters. Theudelinda would seem, at any rate after the year 594, to have occupied a middle

[1] Paulus, H. L. iv. 5. [2] Ep. xiv. 12.

[3] 'Sequenti quoque mense Martio' (Waitz gives the marginal date 612) 'defunctus est apud Tridentum Secundus servus Christi, de quo saepe jam diximus, qui usque ad sua tempora succinctam de Langobardorum gestis composuit historiolam.' (H. L. iv. 40).

position, heartily co-operating with the Pope in all good works, but not renouncing the communion of the Istrian schismatics, perhaps at heart well inclined to their cause.

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603.

Along with the letter just referred to, Gregory sent a copy of the Acts of the Fifth Council, which Secundus was, at some future time, to read, and thereby convince himself that all that was alleged against the Apostolic See was utterly false, and that the Popes had deviated in nothing from the Tome of the sainted Leo. There is evidently here some change in the relations of the two parties from the time when the Pope did not venture even to mention the name of the Fifth Council to Theudelinda.

The Schism becomes geographical.

At the time of Gregory's death the Schism was not closed, but had assumed a geographical character. All round the coast of Istria, at Grado itself, and probably among the lagunes of Venetia—in fact, wherever the galleys of Constantinople could penetrate—churchmen were desirous to return into unity with the Emperor and the Pope, and were willing to admit that Theodoret, Theodore and Ibas were suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. On the mainland, at Aquileia itself, in the great old desolate Venetian cities, Padua, Vicenza, and the like, in the little towns under the shadow of the Dolomites, wherever the swords of the Lombards flashed, men took a more hopeful view of the spiritual prospects of the three Syrians. At the death of Severus in 606, the divergence became manifest. The abbot John was chosen by one set of ecclesiastics, assembled at old Aquileia, as their Patriarch, and the champion of the Three Chapters, while the bishop Marcianus, and, after him, Candidianus, both

Death of Severus, 606.

Two Patriarchs chosen.

BOOK VI. CH. 11. 606. in full communion with the Pope, were chosen Patriarchs of Grado by the bishops and clergy of the coast[1]. 'And from henceforth,' as Paulus relates, 'there were two patriarchs.' The detailed history of the schism after this point does not greatly interest us, nor indeed are there many materials from which it could be written. Its effect, however, in throwing the defenders of the Three Chapters into the arms of the Lombard invaders is vividly shown by a letter from the Aquileian Patriarch John to King Agilulf[2]. In it the Patriarch complains bitterly of the severities practised by the 'Greeks,' and asks what sort of unity is that which is obtained at the point of the sword, by imprisonment, by the blows of the cudgel, by long and dreary banishment. The old grievance of the forcible abduction of the bishops to Ravenna by Exarch Smaragdus is again brought up, and the king is informed that in more recent times three Istrian bishops have been dragged away by the soldiers of the Empire from their churches, and forced to communicate with Candidianus at Grado. Now, however, at the hour of writing, that worthless prelate[3] has departed this life and gone to the place of eternal torment, and Agilulf is entreated to interpose on behalf of the Catholic faith and prevent another unjust ordination of a Patriarch from taking place in the village of Grado[4]. However, the election was held, and the schism continued. Some years later, a certain Fortuna-
625(?). tus, though a secret champion of the Three Chapters,

[1] Paulus makes Candidianus the immediate successor of Severus, but Dandolo, who had old documents before him, interposes a three years' Patriarchate of Marcianus. See Gfrörer, p. 22.

[2] See Troya, iv. 1. 560–562.

[3] 'Candidianus inutilis.'

[4] 'In Gradensi Castro.'

was chosen Patriarch of orthodox Grado. He soon found his position untenable, and fled, with all the Church's treasure, to the mainland, where the Lombard duke of Friuli obtained for him the Patriarchate of Aquileia[1]. In vain was application made to the Lombards by his successor Primogenius (a faithful adherent of the Pope) for the surrender of the fugitive Patriarch, or at least of the stolen treasure. Both were stedfastly refused, and, on the 'lamentable petition' of Primogenius to the Emperor Heraclius, setting forth the sad condition of the Church of Grado, bereft of all her wonted ornaments, a large sum was transmitted from the Imperial treasury to enable the Patriarch to make good the deficiency.

625.

The Schism ended by the Lombard king Cunincpert, 698 (?).

So the Schism smouldered on till near the very end of the seventh century, when the reigning Lombard king Cunincpert summoned a council at Pavia[2], which was attended by a full representation from the lately schismatic Patriarchate of Aquileia. With shouts of triumph they entered the church, declaring that they renounced the heresy of Theodore and his companions, and wished to be restored to the unity of the Church. Tears and sobs expressed the overpowering emotion with which the spectators, Catholics and Schismatics alike, witnessed this ending of so long a struggle. Legates were sent to bear the joyful news to Pope Sergius, who returned for answer to King Cunincpert, 'He which converteth a sinner from the error of his way shall save his soul from death, and shall cover

[1] Chronicon Gradense, Dandolo apud Muratori, xii. 13.

[2] Commemorated in a very rude contemporary poem, 'Carmen de Synodo Ticinensi,' which is printed by Waitz at the end of his edition of Paulus Diaconus.

BOOK VI. Ch. 11. 698. a multitude of sins.' At the same time he gave orders that all the MSS. setting forth the doctrines of the now defeated sect should be burned, lest their errors should ever again infect the souls of the new converts.

So ended the heresy of the Three Chapters; a heresy which at one time had all that was best and wisest in the Western Church, including the Pope's own authority, on its side. But not even thus was peace restored to the Church, nor were occasions of strife between Rome and Constantinople done away. The Monotheletic word-war had already tormented Christendom for half a century, and the dispute about the worship of images was shortly to ascend above the horizon.

END OF VOL. V.



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